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MAP II

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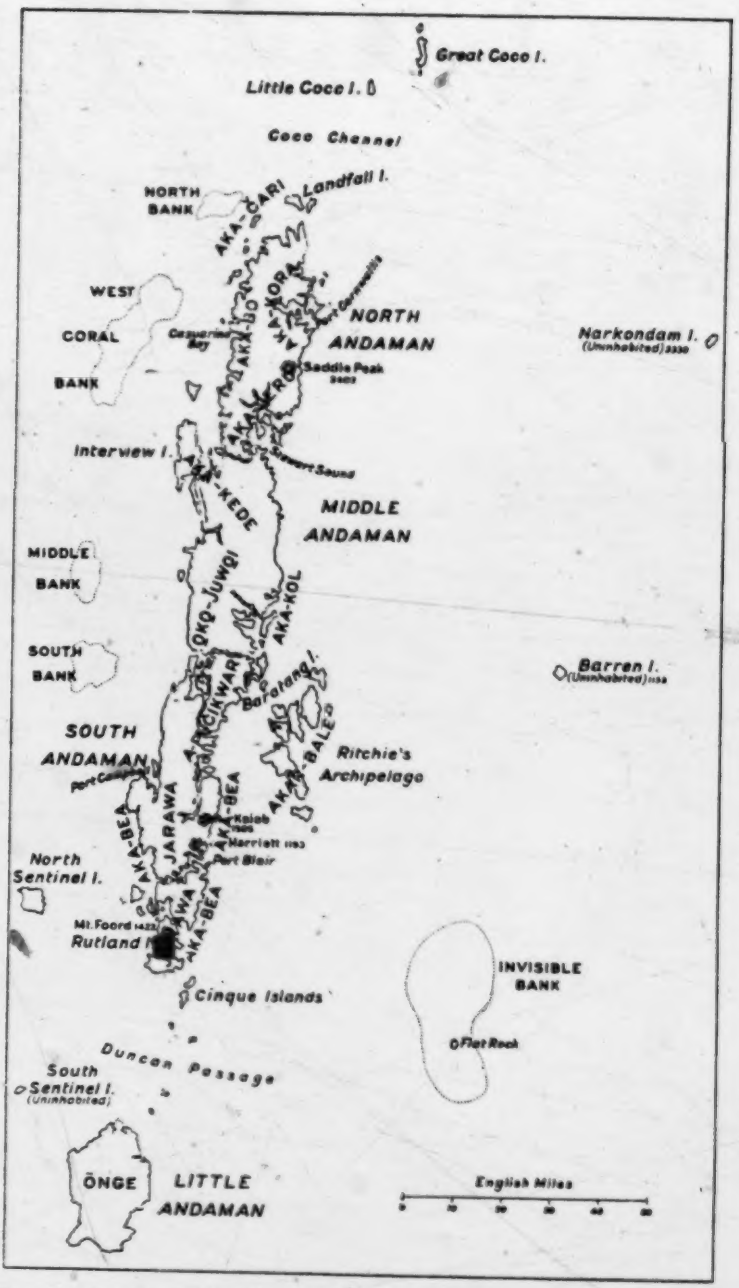

The Andaman Islands, showing the distribution of tribes

[facing p. 10]

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175 workers and on the friendly Andamanese. Punitive expeditions
648 have been sent against them on several occasions, and attempts to set up friendly relations with them have been made by leaving presents in their huts, and by capturing some of them and keeping them for a time at Port Blair. At the present time the *Jarawa* are as hostile as ever.

619 Although of one race throughout, the Andaman Islanders are divided into several groups, with differences of language and culture. There are two main divisions, which will be spoken of as the Great Andaman Group and the Little Andaman Group respectively. The Great Andaman Group includes all the natives of the Great Andaman with the exception of those of the interior of the South Andaman who are known as *Jarawa*. The Little Andaman Group includes all the inhabitants of the Little Andaman, those of the North Sentinel Island, and the *Jarawa* of the South Andaman.

619 These two different divisions exhibit many differences of
197 language and culture. All the languages of the Great Andaman Group are closely related to one another. They have the same grammatical structure, and a large number of roots are the same in all or in several of them. In the same way the language of the *Jarawa*, so far as it is known, is very similar to that of the natives of the Little Andaman. On the other hand when the language of the Little Andaman is compared with the Great Andaman languages there is a very striking difference. Of a vocabulary of several hundred words collected in the Little Andaman there were less than a dozen in which the root or stem was clearly the same as that of words in the Great Andaman. While the grammatical structure of the languages of the two groups is fundamentally the same, this can only be shown in a somewhat detailed analysis, and there are many important differences.

619 With regard to technical culture the same grouping appears. There is a general similarity between all the tribes of the Great Andaman Group, while the *Jarawa* and the inhabitants of the Little Andaman have a technical culture of their own that is markedly different from that of the other division.

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•619 The natives of the Great Andaman Group are divided into tribes, of which there are ten, each with its own distinctive language or dialect, and with a name. The following is a list of these tribes, passing from north to south:—*Aka-Čari*, *Aka-Kọra*, *Aka-Bo*, *Aka-Jeru*, *Aka-Kede*, *Aka-Kọl*, *Ọkọ-Juwọi*, *A-Pučikwar*, *Akar-Bale*, and *Aka-Bea*. In each case the name is given in the form in which it is used by the tribe itself. Thus the *Aka-Bea* speak of the *A-Pučikwar* as *Aka-Bojig-yab*, and refer to the *Akar-Bale* as *Aka-Bala-wa*, and there are similar variants of other tribal names.

101 The natives of the Little Andaman refer to themselves as *Önge* (men). It is probable that the so-called *Ja̤rawa* of the South Andaman have the same word. In a vocabulary obtained by Colebrooke in 1790 from a *Ja̤rawa* near Port Blair, the word *Mincopie* is given as meaning a native of the Andaman Islands. This would seem to be simply the same phrase as the Little Andaman *M'önge-bi* = I am *Önge*, or I am a "man." The word *Ja̤rawa* is apparently derived from the *Aka-Bea* language, but is now used by all the friendly natives (i.e. the natives of the Great Andaman Group) to denote those of the Little Andaman Group. In the official publications dealing with the Andamans, however, the term *Ja̤rawa* has come to be applied solely to the hostile natives of the Great Andaman. It is in this sense that the word is used in the present work, the name *Önge* being reserved for the natives of the Little Andaman. It must be remembered, however, that the so-called *Ja̤rawa* probably call themselves *Önge*, while the *Önge* of the Little Andaman are called *Ja̤rawa* by the natives of the friendly tribes of the Great Andaman. The name *Mincopie* was at one time common in ethnological literature as a term for the Andaman Islanders.

619 It is convenient to divide the tribes of the Great Andaman Group into two subdivisions, to be spoken of as the Northern Group (including the first four tribes mentioned above) and the Southern Group (including the other six tribes). Between these two divisions there are a number of differences of culture. They have, for example, different forms of bow, and different kinds of baskets. The differences between them are much slighter than those between the Great Andaman tribes and

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the natives of the Little Andaman, but they are of sufficient importance to make it necessary to distinguish them from one another. 619

The different divisions of the Andamanese may for convenience be set out in the form of a table.

I. GREAT ANDAMAN GROUP.

A. Northern Group, including the tribes:—

Aka-Čari,
Aka-Kora,
Aka-Bo,
Aka-Jeru.

B. Southern Group, including the tribes:—

Aka-Kede,
Aka-Kol,
Oko-Juwoi
A-Pučikwar,
Akar-Bale,
Aka-Bea.

II. LITTLE ANDAMAN GROUP.

A. The inhabitants of the Little Andaman (*Önge*).
B. The *Jarawa* of the South Andaman.
C. The inhabitants of the North Sentinel Island.

The distribution of these different groups as it was in 1858 is shown on the map.

There is one important feature of this distribution that requires a few words of explanation, and that is the presence in the South Andaman of the *Jarawa* who are allied by language and technical culture to the natives of the Little Andaman. There can be no doubt that the *Jarawa* are the descendants of emigrants who at some time in the past made their way across from the Little Andaman and thrust themselves in upon the inhabitants of Rutland Island and the South Andaman, maintaining their footing in the new country by force of arms. 619 174

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The identity of the flora and fauna of the Little Andaman with those of the Great Andaman and the shallowness of the strait between the islands, suggests that at no very remote period they have been united by a continuous land connection. Whether or not this connection existed at the time when the islands were first peopled, it is at any rate reasonable to suppose that the original ancestors of the present Andamanese had one language and one culture. Once the Little Andaman was peopled, the strait between it and the Great Andaman seems to have acted as an effective barrier, to keep the two divisions of the race apart for many centuries. During the period of this separation each division followed its own line of development, with the result that there arose the considerable differences of language and culture that now exist.

At a much later date than this separation of the Andamanese into two isolated groups, and after the typical differences of language and culture had been developed, a party of natives must have made their way by canoe from the north of the Little Andaman to Rutland Island. They would have found that country occupied by natives of the Great Andaman Group. In spite of this they succeeded in establishing themselves in the South Andaman, and became the progenitors of the present *Jarawa*. Owing to the difference of language all communication between the Little Andaman invaders and those already occupying the invaded country would be impossible. (At the present day a native of the Little Andaman cannot make himself understood to a native of one of the Great Andaman tribes.) The result has been that the *Jarawa* have lived in a state of constant warfare with their neighbours, and this hostility has lasted down to the present day.

It is only on the above hypothesis that it is possible to explain how it comes about that we find in the South Andaman people with language and technical culture very similar to that of the Little Andaman, and differing from that of the remaining inhabitants of the Great Andaman. It is impossible to say how long it is since this invasion from the Little Andaman took place. At the end of the eighteenth century the *Jarawa* were to be found in the neighbourhood of Port Blair. Lieutenant

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Colebrooke in 1790 came across an individual of this tribe and obtained from him a vocabulary. A comparison of this vocabulary with the language of the Little Andaman shows it to be essentially the same language[1].

A few words must be said on the position of the natives of the North Sentinel Island. Almost nothing is known of these people. What little information is available concerning their weapons and implements seems to point to their belonging to the Little Andaman Division. There is no communication between them and either the Great Andaman or the Little Andaman. It is possible that they have been separated from the other Andamanese as long as those of the Little Andaman have been separated from those of the Great Andaman, and would therefore constitute a third separate division. The South Sentinel Island is uninhabited.

The total area of the Andamans is estimated to be about 2500 square miles. This area is divided as follows:—

	Sq. miles.
North Andaman, being the territory of the four tribes Aka-Cari, Aka-Kora, Aka-Bo, and Aka-Jeru	540
Middle Andaman and Baratang, occupied by four tribes, Aka-Kede, Aka-Kol, Oko-Juwoi and A-Pucikwar	790
The Archipelago, occupied by the Akar-Bale tribe	140
The South Andaman, occupied by the Aka-Bea and the Jarawa	630
North Sentinel Island	30
Little Andaman	370
	2500

It is not possible to give accurately the area occupied by each tribe, as the boundaries are difficult to discover. The *Aka-Bea* is in an exceptional position, as there was no definite boundary between them and the *Jarawa*. The two parties of natives lived in the same territory at enmity with each other. It would seem that the *Aka-Bea* kept on the whole more to the coast, while the *Jarawa* lived in the interior.

[1] In 1906 some Little Andaman visitors to Rutland Island captured a *Jarawa* of that part. They told me that though he spoke differently from them, they could understand him fairly well.

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Leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*, the largest of the Great Andaman tribes, as regards area of territory, was the *Aka-Kede*, which possessed over 300 square miles. After this tribe in order of size come the *A-Pučikwar*, *Aka-J̌eru* and *Aka-Kǫra* tribes, while the smaller ones are the *Ǫkǫ-J̌uwǫi*, *Aka-Kǫl*, *Aka-Bo*, *Akar-Bale* and *Aka-Čari*, the last being perhaps the smallest of all.

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In 1901 an enumeration of the natives of the Great Andaman was attempted in connection with the census of India. Such an enumeration was of course very difficult, and liable to considerable error. The results are given in the following table:—

Name of Tribe	Adults		Children		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	
Aka-Cari	16	15	6	2	39
Aka-Kora	31	32	14	19	96
Aka-Bo	15	16	7	10	48
Aka-Jeru	98	80	26	14	218
Aka-Kede	24	30	3	2	59
Aka-Kol	6	2	3		11
Oko-Juwoi	21	19	7	1	48
A-Pucikwar	31	14	2	3	50
Akar-Bale	5	10	3	1	19
Aka-Bea	14	16	3	4	37
Total	261	234	74	56	625

These figures are likely to be more accurate for the southern tribes (the last five on the list) than for the northern tribes. It is probable that, in the North Andaman, some of the persons enumerated were entered under the wrong tribe. For many years the officers of the Andamans did not know of the existence of the *Aka-Kǫra* and *Aka-Bo* tribes, and members of these tribes have fallen into the habit of describing themselves to Europeans as either *Aka-J̌eru* or *Aka-Čari*. My own opinion is that the numbers given for the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe are too large, while those of the *Aka-Kǫra* and *Aka-Bo*, and perhaps also the *Aka-Kede*, are too small.

For the census of 1901 an attempt was made to estimate the numbers of the *J̌arawa* and the natives of the Little Andaman, any attempt at enumeration being impossible. The estimate given was as follows:—

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164 estimated that the mortality from measles and its sequelae was
165 one-half if not two-thirds of the whole population of the Great Andaman. Other diseases which were formerly unknown to the islands seem also to have been introduced, including influenza.

163 While the death-rate amongst the friendly Andamanese has been enormously increased, the birth-rate has at the same time fallen to almost nothing. This is evident from the proportion of adults to children in the population table given above. In 1907, out of a total of about 500 natives whom I saw at different times, there were not more than a dozen children of less than five years old. A birth is a rare occurrence, and of the children born very few survive infancy.

165 This decrease of population has not as yet affected the
●619 Little Andaman. The natives of this island have had very little contact with the Penal Settlement or with the tribes of the Great Andaman, and have thus escaped the diseases which are mainly responsible for the depopulation of the larger island.

Several attempts have been made to estimate the former population of the Andamans. In the "Census Report" for 1901 the estimate given is 4800 for the whole group. Mr M. V. Portman has given an estimate of 8000. It seemed to me that one of these is too small and the other too large. Judging from what it is possible to learn about the habits of the natives, and the food supply available, I should estimate that the former population of the islands (in 1858) was about 5500[1]. An estimate for the proportion of the different groups is as follows:—

	Estimated former population.	Density per square mile.
North Andaman (four tribes)	1500	2·75
Middle Andaman with Baratang and Ritchie's Archipelago	2250	2·5
South Andaman (Aka-Bea and Jarawa) . .	1200	2·0
Little Andaman and North Sentinel . .	700	1·75
Total . .	5650	2·25

[1] This estimate is based on what the Andamanese were able to tell me of the conditions under which they formerly lived. Of course such an estimate can only be of small value. I think it is more probable that I have underestimated the former population than that I have overestimated it.

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With regard to the comparative density per square mile of the different groups it may be pointed out that the reason for the smaller density of the South Andaman is the fact that the *Aka-Bea* and *Jarawa* were living there at war with one another, and the territory was therefore probably not so fully occupied as in other parts of the islands where boundaries between neighbouring tribes were well defined. The food supply of the Little Andaman does not seem to be so abundant as that of the Great Andaman in proportion to its area. It must be remembered that length of coast-line is of more importance to the Andamanese than the actual area of their country. The natives of the Little Andaman are not able to harpoon turtle and large fish, which constitute an important element of the food supply of the tribes of the Great Andaman.

If the figures of the above estimate be correct, it will be seen that the population of the North Andaman has been reduced in less than fifty years (1858–1901) to about 27 per cent. of its former volume, while in the same period the population of the Middle Andaman and South Andaman has been reduced to about 18 per cent. As the tribes in the south were the first to come into contact with the Settlement, their numbers have diminished more rapidly than those of the northern tribes. It is probable that in another fifty years the natives of the Great Andaman tribes will be extinct.

The diminution of population has combined with other causes to alter considerably the mode of life of the islanders. What were formerly distinct and often hostile communities are now merged together. The different languages have become corrupt, and some tribes have adopted customs of other tribes and have abandoned their own. Most of the younger men and women of the friendly tribes of the Great Andaman now speak a little Hindustani (Urdu) in a somewhat corrupt form. The friendly natives are under the charge of an officer of the Settlement, known as the Officer in Charge of the Andamanese. A Home and Hospital are provided for them in Port Blair, and natives from all parts, even from the extreme north, go there either to be treated in the Hospital or to stay at the Home. During certain parts of the year some of the natives

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On the other hand [628]
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there were often quarrels between neighbouring groups, which might result in a state of feud between them for many months. Between communities separated from one another by a distance of only 50 miles or even less there were no direct relations whatever. The members of one community kept to their own part of the country, only leaving it to visit their friends within a narrow radius.

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These local groups were united into what are here called tribes. A tribe consisted of a number of local groups all speaking what the natives themselves regard as one language, each tribe having its own language and its name. The tribe was of very little importance in regulating the social life, and was merely a loose aggregate of independent local groups.

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The local groups are further distinguished by the natives themselves as being of two kinds according as they lived on the coast or inland. This division was independent of that into tribes. Some tribes consisted of coast-dwellers only, while others included both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers.

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Within the local group the only division was that into families. A family consists of a man and his wife and their unmarried children own or adopted.

These were the only social divisions existing among the Andamanese, who were without any of those divisions known as "clans" which are characteristic of many primitive societies.

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The natives of the Great Andaman (leaving aside the *ʃarawa*, who by language and culture belong to the Little Andaman division of the race) are divided into ten tribes, each occupying a certain area of country. Each tribe consists of a number of persons who speak what is regarded by the natives themselves as one language. That the tribe is fundamentally a linguistic group is shown by the tribal names. These are all formed from a stem with the prefix *aka-*, which prefix is used in the languages of the Great Andaman to convey a reference to the mouth and thereby to the function of speech. Thus in the *Aka-ʃeru* language the stem *poy* means "a hole of any kind," and *aka-poy* means "the mouth," there being no other word for that part of the body. In the same language the stem *-ar-* meaning "to talk" can only be used

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with the prefix *aka-*, as *ak'-ar-ka*, "he says." The prefix which is characteristic of the tribal names, indicates, therefore, that these are really the names of languages.

The meanings or derivations of some of the tribal names have not been ascertained with certainty. The name *Aka-Čari* is derived from the word *čari* meaning "salt water," and therefore means "the salt-water language." Similarly the name *Aka-Jeru* is derived from *jeru*, a species of Sterculia from which canoes are made. In the Northern languages the word *ot-bo* means "the back" of anything, and *oŋ-kọra* means "the hand." It is possible that the names *Aka-Bo* and *Aka-Kọra* are derived from these stems (the *ot-* and the *oŋ-* being prefixes), but there is no evidence that they are associated with them in the minds of the natives of the present day. Among the Southern tribes the name *Akar-Bale* is derived from a word meaning "the other side" of a creek or strait, thus referring to their position in the Archipelago. The name *A-Pučik-war* (of which the *Aka-Bea* equivalent is *Aka-Bojig-yab*) means "those who speak our own language," from a stem *pučik* (*Aka-Bea*, *bojig*) which means "belonging to ourselves" as opposed to strangers of the same race. Mr Portman[1] gives the following meanings of the other tribal names of the South and Middle Andaman, but the derivations are somewhat doubtful.

Aka-Bea	Fresh water.
Ọko-Juwọi	They cut patterns on their bows.
Aka-Kọl	Bitter or salt taste.

I may take this opportunity of pointing out two errors in the names of the tribes given in the "Census Report" of 1901. The name *Aka-Čari* is given as *Aka-Chariar*; the stem *-ar-* means "to talk" and is not an essential part of the tribal name; *Aka-Čari-ar-bom* means "he talks the *Čari* language." The name *Aka-Bo* is given as *Aka-Tabo*; *t'a-Bo* means "I (am) *Aka-Bo*," just as *t'a-Jeru* means "I (am) *Aka-Jeru*," the prefix *aka-* being contracted to *a-* after the personal pronoun *t'* = I or my.

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Although the natives themselves thus recognize and give names to ten distinct languages, all of them are closely related. There is, on the whole, not a great deal of difference between

[1] *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 27.

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two neighbouring languages. A man of the *Aka-J̌eru* tribe could understand without any great difficulty a man speaking *Aka-Bo*. On the other hand many of the languages included two or even more distinct dialects. In the *Akar-Bale* tribe there were two dialects, one in the southern half of the Archipelago, which was allied to *Aka-Bea*, and the other in the northern half, showing affinities with *A-Pučikwar*. Even in such a small tribe as the *Aka-Ćari* it would seem that there were differences of dialect. Thus, even from the point of view of language, the tribe was not entirely homogeneous.

Leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*, the average extent of territory occupied by a tribe was about 165 square miles. Of the nine tribes the largest, as regards area, was the *Aka-Kede*, with over 300 square miles, while the smallest was probably the *Aka-Čari*, with less than 100 square miles. Save in the case of the *Akar-Bale* tribe, which occupied the islands of Ritchie's Archipelago, it is difficult to find any marked geographical features that might be supposed to have determined the extent and the boundaries of the different tribes.

The *Aka-Bea* tribe was in an abnormal position as there was no recognized boundary between them and the *J̌arawa*. Together, these two divisions of the Andamanese occupied an area of about 600 square miles. The *Aka-Bea* seem to have kept more to the coast while the *J̌arawa* occupied the interior of the South Andaman and Rutland Island.

If the estimate previously given[1] of the former population of the islands be correct, the nine tribes (leaving aside the *Aka-Bea*) would have formerly contained about 3750 persons of all ages. At the present time the four tribes of the North Andaman number altogether about 400, of whom about 100 or less are children. The other six tribes taken together (including the almost extinct *Aka-Bea*) number about 200, of whom not more than 30 are children. Mr Man estimated the numbers of the *Aka-Bea* tribe (called by him *Bojig-ŋiji-da*) in 1882 at about 400, and supposes them to have numbered about 1000 in 1858. In 1901 that tribe consisted of only 37 persons.

[1] Page 18 above.

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616 184 Besides the division into tribes, and independent of it, the Andamanese recognize another division into coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers. In the *Aka-Bea* language the coast-dwellers are called *Ar-yoto*, while the forest-dwellers are called *Erem-taga*. The difference between them is due solely to the difference of their food supply. The *Ar-yoto* obtain much of their food from the sea. They are expert in fishing and turtle hunting. They make canoes and use them not only for hunting but also for travelling from one camp to another. Some portion of their food they also obtain from the forest, edible roots and fruits and the flesh of the wild pig being the chief. On the other hand the *Erem-taga* rely solely on the forest and the inland creeks for their food supply. Their only use for canoes is in the creeks. They are entirely ignorant of such matters as turtle or dugong hunting, but they are more at home than the coast-dwellers in the forest, and are generally more skilful at pig-hunting. The advantage certainly rests with the coast-dwellers, for they have both the sea and the forest to draw upon for their sustenance.

619 616 184 Some tribes consist only of coast-dwellers, such as the *Aka-Čari*, the *Akar-Bale* and perhaps the *Aka-Kol*. On the other hand the *Aka-Bo*, although their territory includes a part of the west coast, are, by their occupations and mode of life, forest-dwellers, and the same seems to have been the case of the *Oko-Juwoi*. The *A-Pučikwar*, the *Aka-Kede*, the *Aka-Jeru* and perhaps also the *Aka-Kora* tribes contained both coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers.

621 [42] Each tribe formerly consisted of a number of independent local groups. The local group, and not the tribe, was the land-owning group, each one owning or exercising hunting rights over a certain recognized area. At the present time, owing to the breakdown of the local organisation, through the settlement of the islands and the resulting decrease of population, it is difficult to ascertain what area of country was occupied by each of these local groups. In many cases it would seem that the boundaries between two neighbouring groups are not very clearly defined, there being portions of forest over which the members of both hunted when the

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consist of several huts, which in all are rarely inhabited by more than from fifty to eighty persons[1]."

From the information that I was able to obtain from the natives themselves I came to the conclusion that an average local group consisted of from 40 to 50 persons of all ages, the average number of local groups to a tribe being about 10. This would give the average extent of country occupied by each local group as about 16 square miles, but some groups certainly had a larger territory than this and some had smaller.

Mr M. V. Portman speaks of the tribes of the southern part of the Great Andaman as being divided into what he calls "septs," but he does not explain what he means by that term. He states that the *Aka-Bea* were divided into seven septs, the *A-Pučikwar* into four, the *Akar-Bale* into two, while the *Aka-Kọl* and *Ọkọ-Jŭwọi* had no real subdivisions[2]. Whatever Mr Portman may have meant by the term sept, it is clear that he did not use it to denote what is here called a local group, but some larger subdivision of the tribe. What these septs seem to have been are groups consisting each of four or five local groups having friendly relations with one another and meeting together occasionally at the festival gatherings to be described later in the present chapter.

There were, strictly speaking, no distinctive names for the local groups. A local group might be denoted by a reference to the district that it occupied or to one of its chief camping places. Thus, in the *Akar-Bale* tribe, those occupying the island of *Teb-jŭru* were spoken of as *Teb-jŭru-wa*, the word *wa* meaning "people," and the inhabitants of the east coast of Havelock Island were similarly denoted as *Puluga-l'armugu-wa* from the name of the district that they occupied. In the tribes of the North Andaman the word equivalent to *wa* of the South is *koloko*. Some of the local groups of the *Aka-Bo* tribe were distinguished as *Teraut buliu koloko*, *Kelera buliu koloko*, *Teradikili buliu koloko* etc., from the names of the creeks (*buliu*) that they occupied. In the *Aka-Čari* tribe the local group occupying the island of *Tọnmuket* and the

[1] *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* Vol. XII, pp. 107 and 108.

[2] Portman, *Notes on the Languages of the South Andaman Group of Tribes*, p. 23.

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175 the most commanding localities in the fine harbour of Port-Blair, and reclaiming as far as possible the contiguous swamps, naturally led to much sickness, which was aggravated by various other circumstances, of which the following were doubtless the chief:—

1. Transportation of a large number of prisoners unfit either to withstand the climate or to perform the work required of them under the exceptional circumstances in which they were then placed.
2. Want of sufficient nitrogenous food.
3. Absence of a sanatarium for the recovery of invalids.
4. Employment of convict labour on works of every kind throughout the year without respect to the suitability of the season for those involving exposure to malarious influences, as evidenced by the mortality in the rains having about trebled that of the dry months.
5. Difficulties experienced by working parties in consequence of the harassing attacks of the aborigines.

The above facts being at length recognised as calling for stringent measures of reform, active remedial steps were at once taken by the then recently appointed Superintendent,[1] with the remarkable result that the death rate suddenly fell from 10·16 in 1867 to 3·9 in 1868, while an average of 1·6 in the five following years, during which vast clearings of jungle and other important works were accomplished, testified to the vigour and success with which the wise and considerate system which had been inaugurated was carried on.

●619 186 Prior to the formation of our Settlement in 1858, and for some years after, it is clearly shown, from the early records of our relations with the aborigines, that extreme jealousy and distrust prevailed among adjacent tribesmen, and even among scattered communities of the same tribe; these feelings naturally resulted in restricting intercommunication, and it is therefore not surprising to find that in many cases no knowledge was possessed regarding tribes distant only fifteen or twenty miles.[2] Of the *.ô·ko-jũ·wai-*, *.â·kà-.ked·e-*, *.â·kà-jār·o-*, and *.âkà-.châriàr-* tribes, those living in South Andaman remained in ignorance till 1877, and it was not till 1879–80 that members of all the eight tribes of Great Andaman (*i.e.*, including the *.â-kà-.bal·awa-* of the Archipelago) were able to meet on friendly terms at the various Homes which had then been established for some years.

[1] Colonel (now General) H. Man.

[2] In 1875 it was found that the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* (or South Andaman tribe) had only then recently discovered that Middle Andaman was not, as they had supposed, occupied entirely by the *.â·kà bō·jig-yâb-*, but that it was shared by another tribe called *.â·kà-kŏl-*; of the territory further north all they were able to say was that it was occupied by the *.yē·rewa-*, a people they seem to dread equally with the natives of Little Andaman.

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

immediate neighbours the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, and we have every reason to believe that crews of vessels shipwrecked on any portion of the Great Andaman coast would not only escape molestation and attack, but would receive such assistance as it might be in the power of these savages to render. That their animosity in past years was not unfounded is attested by the reports of Captain Miller and Père Barbe, both of which will be found quoted at some length in the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute" for 1882–3, p. 339.[1]

On referring to the accompanying map of the Andamans it will be seen that according to our present knowledge[2] the aboriginal inhabitants are divided into no less than nine tribes, viz.:

.bō·jig-ngī·ji-	..	South Andaman.
.bal·awa- ..	..	Archipelago.
.bō·jig-yâb- *.ô-ko-.jū·wai-* *.â·kà-.ked·e-* *.â·kà-.kôl-*	..	Middle Andaman.
.â·kà-jāro- *.â·kà-.chà·riar-*	..	North Andaman.
jār·awa- ..	..	Inhabitating Little Andaman and southern portions of Great Andaman.[4]

Although the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* are here shown, and in the following pages are described, as the natives of South Andaman—including Rutland and Labyrinth Island—there is no evidence to prove that they have ever been in undisputed possession of the whole of this territory; indeed, the scattered encampments of *jār·awa-*, which are marked on the map as occupying certain portions within their territory give substance to the belief that before our advent they suffered from the inroads of their marauding neighbours, whose occupancy is proved to be of no recent date by the *jār·awa* kitchen-middens,[5] evidently of

[1] *Vide* Part III, "Trade, &c.," p. 119.

[2] How erroneous were the views formerly held may be gathered from the following extracts:—"The Andamans . . . do not even exist in a state of tribedom" (Figuier). "They have no tribal distinctions" (Wood). "In Great Andaman there is only one tribe" (Mouat).

[3] These are the names by which they are designated by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-*, who, being our immediate neighbours, are the best known of all the tribes.

[4] As these communities possess many, if not all, the characteristics of the inhabitants of Little Andaman, and are presumed to have had constant communication with them in past years, they are designated by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* by the name of *jār·awa*.

[5] These are distinguished from those of the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* with readiness by members of the latter tribe, on account of the presence of the valves of certain mollusca, which they assert were never (according to tradition) considered as articles of diet by their own immediate ancestors.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

remote origin, which are found in and near the harbour of Port Blair.

No one who has had the opportunity of seeing the natives of the various islands forming Great Andaman can fail to be struck with the similarity which marks their general appearance,[1] and to be convinced that, however much they may differ in many respects, they must at least claim a common origin. Any reasonable doubt on the subject has been removed by the discovery that although each of the several tribes possesses a distinct dialect, these are traceable to the same source, and are all in the same—*i.e.*, the agglutinative—stage of development; further, it has been ascertained that among all, or at least among the natives of Middle and South Andaman and the Archipelago, a coincidence of legends and customs is to be found, and that though the points of dissimilarity between the inhabitants of Great and Little Andaman are more marked, especially in regard to their weapons and implements, they are by no means such as would justify the belief that the latter are descendants of another branch of the Negrito family.

From what has been already said it will be understood that we are not yet in a position to decide whether one and the same dialect is spoken by all the communities designated as *.jār·awa-*, or whether, like the people of North and Middle Andaman, they must be regarded on linguistic grounds as representing two or more tribes.

The dialects of Great Andaman may be grouped into three classes, viz.:—

I. The *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* and *.bal·awa-*.
II. The *.bō·jig-yâb-* and *.á·kà-.kôl-* and *.ô·ko-.jū·wai-*.
III. The *.â·kà-.ked·e-* and the two tribes of North Andaman.

But it must not be supposed that the similarity between the dialect of any of these groups is so great that a knowledge of one would enable a person to converse intelligibly with members of the other tribes in the same classification, for such is not the case; now, however, that intercommunication is less restricted it is not unusual to find that members of the various communities are sufficiently acquainted with the dialect spoken by their immediate neighbours as to hold intercourse with them.

Little which throws light on their past history can be gathered from the Andamanese or from their traditions, but from a study

[1] I have been told by the *.bō·jig-ngī·ji-* that they can distinguish a *.bal·awa-* from members of the other tribes by his high cheek-bones, and the shape of his skull, which they describe as more dolichocephalic than those of other tribesmen; but as this tribe is now well-nigh extinct, it is impossible to determine the amount of credence which may be placed on this strange statement.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

savage tribes,[1] imagine themselves gifted with superior wisdom, and can hardly be blamed if they endeavour to turn their talents to account by imposing a little on the credulity of their neighbours.

Tribal Distribution.—1. The inhabitants of these islands are divided into at least nine tribes,[2] linguistically distinguished, even if we reckon as one those communities to which I have already alluded under the title of *jărawa-*, among whom it is not improbable further divisions and dialects may eventually be discovered. The conjecture that they are one is merely based on the assertions of the people of South Andaman, and on the circumstance that all the weapons, utensils, huts, &c., of the *jărawa-*, which we have been able to examine, appear to be constructed invariably on the same model, while all such members of the various scattered communities as we have had the opportunity of observing, resemble each other in abstaining from the practice, so general among all the eight Great Andaman tribes, of shaving their heads and tattooing their persons. Still, these outward similarities are manifestly insufficient, affording as they do mere negative evidence, whereas our present knowledge, so tardily acquired, of there being inland communities, called *ē'rem-tâ'ga-*, dwelling in the heart of South and Middle Andaman, who are allied in all respects, save in their mode of life, with the *àryô'to-*, or coast communities of their respective tribes, would seem to justify the belief that hereafter the aborigines of Little Andaman will be found to present not only distinctions of this nature but differences also of dialect, as is the case with the inhabitants of both North and Middle Andaman, which are known to be divided into no less than six tribes.

2. As to the numerical strength of these several tribes it is impossible to speak with any degree of certainty, for, as you are aware, there is no part of the country which is not covered with jungle, more or less impenetrable to any but the aborigines themselves, while their capacity for estimating and expressing numbers is wholly inadequate to assist us in forming any conclusions on the subject. The surmise that the entire group contains about 4,000 souls is based on the calculation that the *.bō'jig-ŋyī'yi-* tribe with whom we are most intimate do not at the present day exceed 400, though at the time of our advent in 1858, they are believed to have numbered about 1,000.

Topography.—1. The chief geographical landmarks of these islands are :—

1st. *Saddle Peak*, a massive hill rising to the height of

[1] *Vide* Lubbock, "On the Origin of Civilisation," &c., 4th Ed., pp. 250–1.

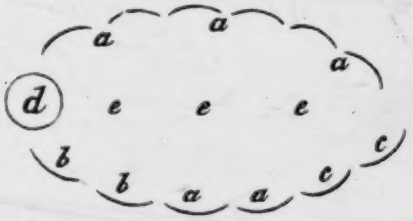
[2] For the names of the various tribes, and the localities they occupy, the reader is referred to the accompanying map.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

361 tides, the men enjoy exceptional facilities for shooting fish and harpooning turtles, &c.

10. Although the sites selected for occupation are usually well-sheltered, it is not always found possible in tempestuous weather, even in the dense jungle which covers every portion of their country, to obtain shelter sufficient to allow of their huts being so placed as to face inwards towards the *bū·lum-*, or dancing ground. The primary consideration being naturally to secure as much comfort as possible, the sloping roof is at such times presented towards the prevailing wind.

11. The following diagram will give a general idea of the plan commonly adopted in laying out an encampment consisting of several huts, though the form depends much on the nature of the ground, and on the relative position of the surrounding trees, for they do not consider it worth their while to fell these, or to clear away anything but the lightest brushwood for the mere purpose of providing space for their huts, and dancing ground. Another point to be taken into account is the possibility of accidents being caused by falling branches, and, therefore, when erecting their frail dwellings, they are careful to guard against this danger as far as possible, and so much judgment do they display in the matter that accidents of this nature are comparatively unknown.



a. Married persons.[1]
b. Bachelors.[1]
c. Spinsters.[1]
d. Public cooking place.
e. Dancing ground (bu·lum-).

619 622 [421] **Government.**—1. The entire country is apportioned among the various tribes, and the territory occupied by each is considered the common property of all its members, and not as belonging exclusively to the chiefs.

2. Their domestic polity may be described as a communism modified by the authority, more or less nominal, of the chief. The head chief of a tribe is called *mai·a-iglā·-*, and the elders, or sub-chiefs, *i.e.*, those in authority over each community, consisting of from 20 to 50 individuals, *mai·ola*.

3. The head chief, who usually resides at a permanent

[1] Even at the homes they are careful to maintain this order, viz.: of placing the bachelors and spinsters at either end of the building, and the married couples in the space between.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

encampment, has authority over all the sub-chiefs, but his power, like theirs, is very limited. It is exercised mainly in organising meetings between the various communities belonging to his tribe, and in exerting influence in all questions affecting the welfare of his followers. It is the chief alone, as may be supposed, who directs the movements of a party while on hunting or fishing expeditions, or when migrating. It is usually through his intervention that disputes are settled, but he possesses no power to punish or enforce obedience to his wishes, it being left to all alike to take the law into their own hands when aggrieved.

4. The *àryô·to-* and *ē·remtâ·ga-* in each tribe have their own head chief, who are independent the one of the other.

5. As might be assumed from the results of observations made of other savage races, whose sole or chief occupation consists in hunting or fishing, the power of the chiefs is very limited, and not necessarily hereditary, though, in the event of a grown-up son being left who was qualified for the post, he would, in most instances, be selected to succeed his father in preference to any other individual of equal efficiency.

6. At the death of a chief there is no difficulty in appointing a successor, even if he leave no son, for there is always at least one who is considered his deputy or right-hand man. As they are usually, on these occasions, unanimous in their choice, no formal election takes place; however should any be found to dissent, the question is decided by the wishes of the majority, it being always open to malcontents to transfer their allegiance to another chief, since there is no such thing as forced submission to the authority of one who is not a general favourite.

7. Social status being dependent not merely on the accident of relationship, but on skill in hunting, fishing, &c., and on a reputation for generosity and hospitality, the chiefs and elders are almost invariably superior in every respect to the rest. They and their wives are at liberty to enjoy immunity from the drudgery incidental to their mode of life, all such acts being voluntarily performed for them by the young unmarried persons living under their headship.

8. Though females, like minors (that is to say youths under 18), cannot be chiefs, the former have a similar position relatively among the women, to that held by their husbands among the men of the tribe. A chief's wife enjoys many privileges, especially if she be a mother, and in virtue of her husband's rank rules over all the young unmarried women and such also of the married ones as are not senior to herself. Should she become a widow she continues to exercise the same rights, unless she re-marries, when her social status depends on that of

2: Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

2. I have used the word "evil" advisedly, for there can be no doubt, from observations extending over many years, that the result of their excessive indulgence in smoking has been seriously to impair their constitutions. The attempts that have been made to check the mischief have hitherto failed, as it has been found difficult, if not impossible, to induce them to do a stroke of work without the accompaniment of the "fragrant weed." 276

Cannibalism.—1. The early stories regarding the prevalence of cannibalism among these savages do not at the present day require refutation.[1] No lengthened investigation was needed to disprove the long credited fiction, for not a trace could be discovered of the existence of such a practice in their midst, even in far-off times. 266

2. It is curious, however, to note, that while they express the greatest horror of the custom, and indignantly deny that it ever held a place among their institutions, a very general belief has been entertained by the tribes living in South and Middle Andaman as to its prevalence in other races, and even among their own countrymen inhabiting North and Little Andaman; and to this cause is chiefly ascribed the dread which they and their fathers have, from a distant period, evinced of their neighbours, and the animosity displayed towards strangers who have approached or landed on their shores; but these sentiments are now confined to those individuals who have had but scant opportunity of becoming acquainted with ourselves and other aliens, or with the results of the visits paid by us to the dreaded *.yē·rewa-* and *.jārawa-* territories.

Communications, Chirography, and Drawing.—1. The density of the Andaman jungles, and the unsuitability of their canoes for long expeditions by sea, would of themselves be serious hindrances to free intercourse between the various tribes, even were there not the further difficulty—due in great measure to the above circumstances—of difference of language to contend with. 619●

2. There are no marked boundaries between the various tribal districts, but a general understanding exists between neighbouring tribes regarding the limits of their respective domains, which are usually defined by such natural barriers as a range of hills, a creek, or even a belt of dense jungle. So careful are they to respect these boundaries, that, before even travelling through, and particularly before hunting or fishing in, the territory of a 619 486

[1] Papuans being regarded as such inveterate anthropophagi, ethnologists will probably agree in considering that the non-existence—nay, even horror—of this custom among the Andamanese furnishes an important item in the array of facts which militate against the theory held by some that the latter form a branch of the great Papuan family.

2:Man G-5 (1869-1880)1932 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

619 neighbouring tribe, an express invitation or permission is required, unless, indeed, the party entering happens to be accompanied by 486 one or more members of the district visited, or when, from long and friendly intercommunication, a right of way has been tacitly sanctioned. In cases where there has been a breach of this observance sharp retribution has generally followed, causing sometimes serious loss of life, and resulting in a long-standing tribal feud.

619 3. Those communities of *ē'rem-tâ'ga-* and *dryô'to-*, living within a few miles of each other and speaking the same dialect, 578 arrange from time to time large gatherings—generally numbering about a hundred persons[1]—for purposes of barter, or for the 437 celebration of some particular event. Though not unfrequently on these occasions old enmities are healed and friendships formed, fresh tribal feuds and personal quarrels sometimes originate in consequence of a misunderstanding or dispute over some comparative trifle.[2]

487 4. There are numerous paths intersecting each territory, the result of continuous traffic over the same ground. When, for some reason, a new course is taken through the jungle, the route is indicated to those following by bending the twigs of the brushwood in a *reverse* direction at intervals along the track. This is especially the case during the dry season, when, owing to the parched condition of the soil, there is some difficulty in distinguishing footprints.[3]

212 5. No marks on rocks, trees or other objects, made for purposes of record, are believed by them to exist, and, with the exception of the supposititious hieroglyphics,[4] hereafter to be mentioned, nothing of the nature of writing is to be found among these tribes, nor have they any method of recording the name and exploits of a deceased chief or other individual who may have gained distinction during his life, save the narration —more or less garbled—of the same by their admiring descendants. The messenger who conveys intelligence to a distant encampment bears no outward token with him to testify to the authenticity or character of the communication he has to make.

211 6. Although no method of signs exists, such as tying knots in a string, making notches in a tally, or figures on wood, bark, or 411 stone, they have means of distinguishing arrows and spears belonging to one another, by certain differences peculiar to each

[1] It is believed that no larger number than 300 has ever been assembled at one time in any place in our vicinity, at least since our advent.

[2] *Vide post* "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 24 and 37.

[3] No prejudice exists in respect to crossing water, going by certain paths, or handling particular objects, excepting the *Anadendrum paniculatum*. *Vide post*, Part III, "String," paragraph 3.

[4] *Vide* "Mythology," paragraph 29.

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Geographical Miles.
0 10 20 30 40 50

EXPLANATION.

		Designation of Territory in S. Andaman dialect.	Situation.	Name of Tribe	Collectively.
1	NORTH.	Elâhà-Chârîâr (da)	Islands off NNW of N. Andaman	Âkà-Chârîâr (da)	
2	NORTH.	Elâhà-Kôrâ (da)	Coast of the northern half of N. Andaman	Âkà-Kôrâ (da)	
3	NORTH.	Elâhà-Tîbô (da)	Interior of N. Andaman	Âkà-Tîbô (da)	Âkà Yârewa (da)
4	CENTRAL	Elâhà-Yêre (da)	Coast of southern half of N. Andaman & N.E. corner of Middle Andaman	Âkà-Yêre (da)	
5	CENTRAL	Elâhà-Kede (da)	N. half of Mid. Andaman & S.W. corner of N. Andaman with interview I.	Âkù-Kede (da)	
6	CENTRAL	Kâpa-tòng (da)	Coast & interior of central portion of Middle Andaman	Ôko-Jûrai (da)	
7	CENTRAL	Elâhà-Kêl (da)	Central portion of East Coast of Middle Andaman	Âkà-Kêl (da)	
8	CENTRAL	Elâhà-Bójigyâb (da)	S.E. corner of Mid. Andaman including part of Bára-tâng I. & adjacent Islets	Âkà-Bójigyâb (da)	Bójigngji (da)
9	SOUTH	Elâr-Jûru (da)	The Archipelago with Button I.	Âkà-Balawa (da)	
10	SOUTH	Elâhà-Bêa (da)	Coast of South Andaman & Rutland I. the Labyrinth Islands & S.W. corner of Middle Andaman	Âkà-Bêa (da)	
11	SOUTH	Elâhà-Jârawa (da)	Part of interior of S. Andaman Rutland & Bára-tâng I. also North Sentinel	Jârawa (da) (off-shoot of the Ongo tribe)	
12	SOUTH	Pûtâng (da) or Milma-târa (da)	Little Andaman	Ôngo	

* Bára tâng is reckoned a portion of Middle Andaman.

93° Longitude East from Greenwich. 94°

11°

E. H. MAN, del. P.S. Waller F.R.G.S.

[Numbers added to replace colors -- Analyst]

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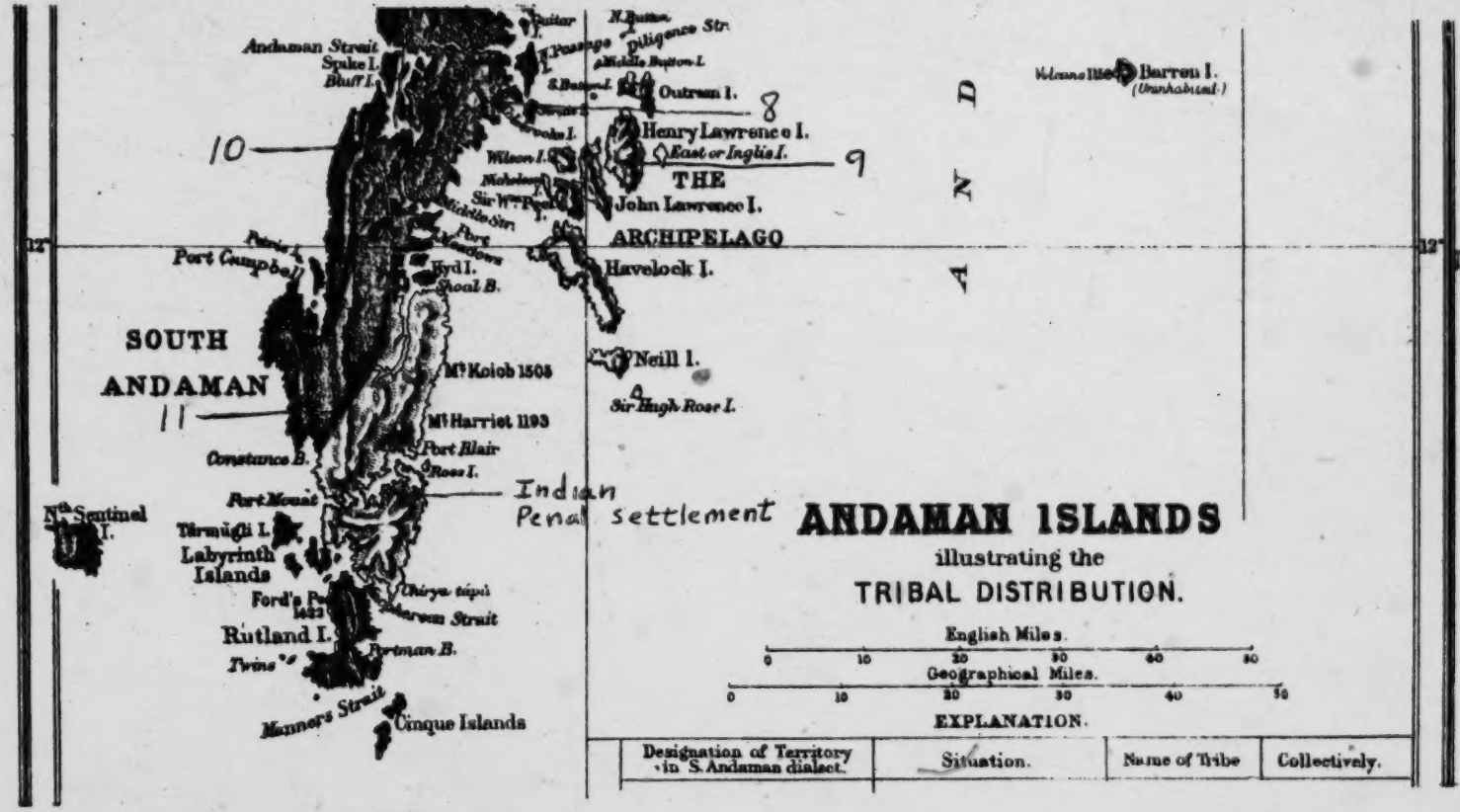

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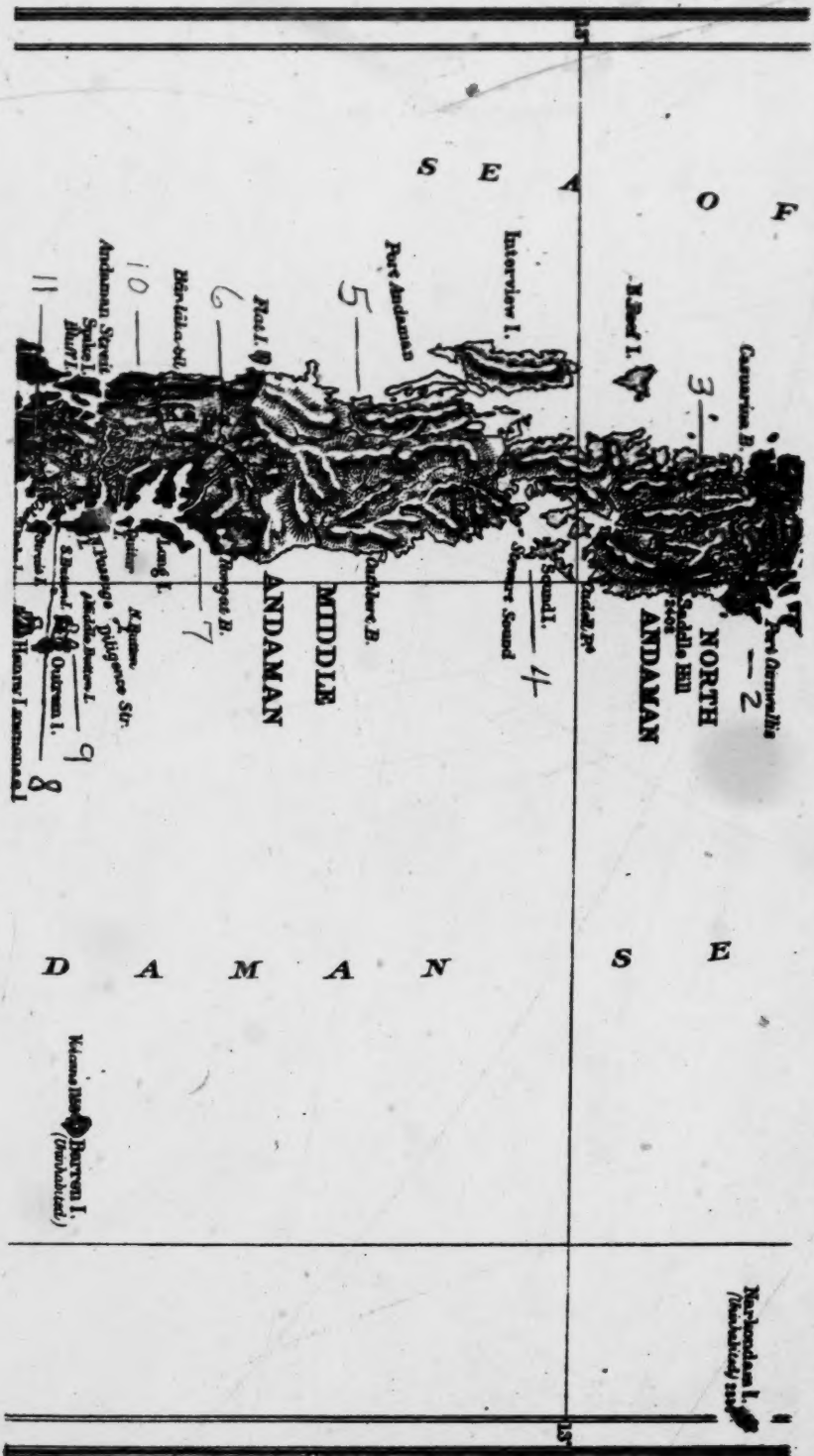

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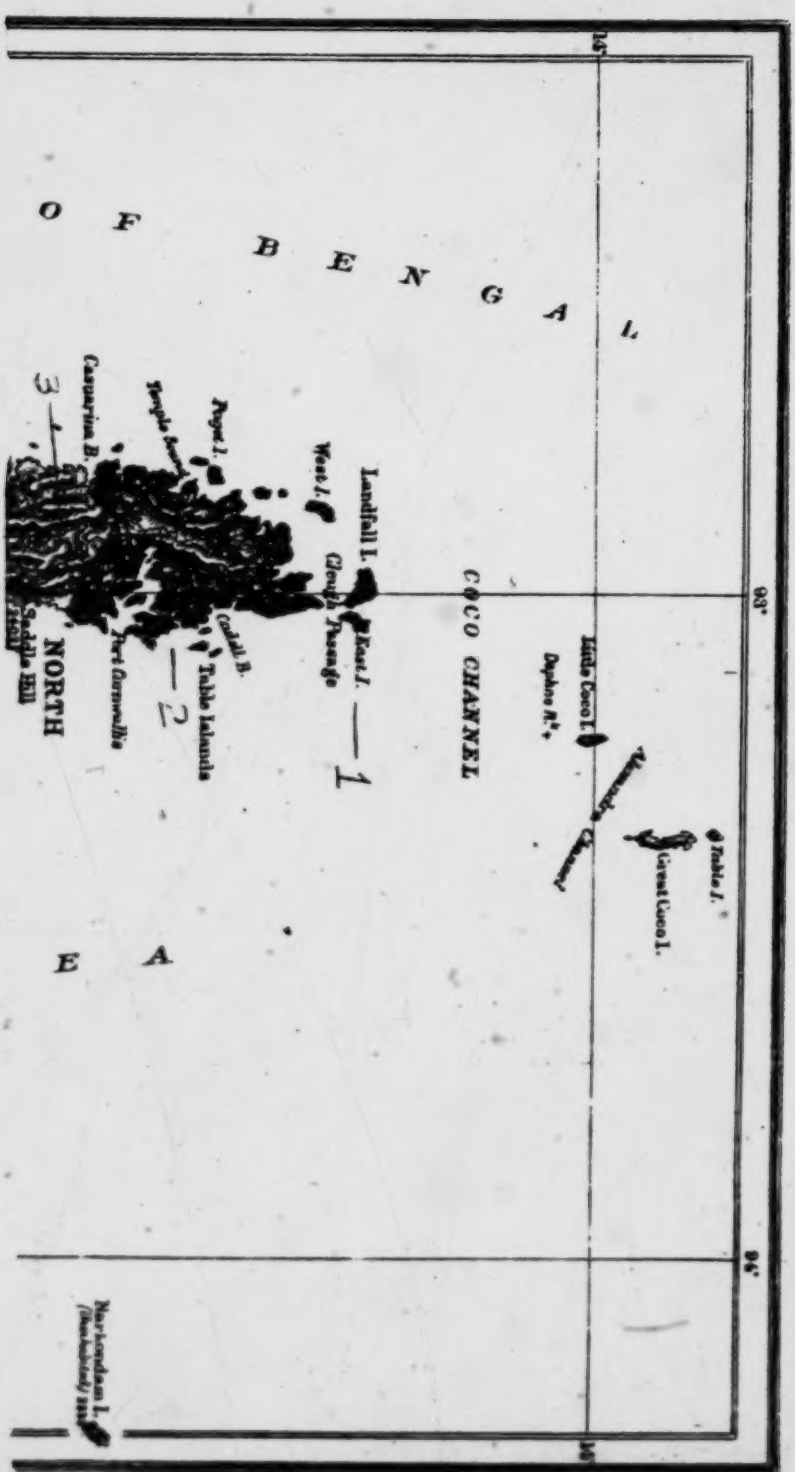

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PART I.

THE ANDAMANESE.

CHAPTER I.

THE CENSUS.

Conditions of Census-taking—Impossibility of Synchronous Census—Intelligent Assistance from Aborigines impossible—Hostile Tribes estimated only—Control of Operations—Census Tours—Method of Enumeration—Officers' Diaries—Method of estimating Ongee and Jarawas—Attitude of the Andamanese—Points as to Defects in Enumeration—Jarawa Hostility—The Returns of the Andamanese—The former Population—Diagram of Past and Present Assumed Density—Methods of arriving at Former Density—The Kitchen-Middens—Future Prospects of the Race.

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Conditions of Census-taking.—The conditions under which a Census of the Andamanese was attempted were the following. In the first place there are Andamanese "Homes" in the Penal Settlement maintained by the Government, to which any Andamanese of any Tribe may come and stay as long as he chooses. In the next place, for reasons hereafter to be explained, practically all the tribes but one are "friendly" and are at the present time very much mixed up with each other. In this mixed condition they are nomads, much given to rapid wandering all over the islands of the group known as the Great Andaman, in which the Penal Settlement is situated. In their most imperfect condition of civilisation it was quite hopeless to expect to induce them to remain in any one place for even one night or for any given period. And thus the first great difficulty to combat in attempting to enumerate them was to prevent the same persons from being counted twice or more times over.

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Impossibility of Synchronous Census.—This difficulty was increased by the impossibility, owing to the nature of the country they inhabit, from enumerating the people all at once or at anything approaching a uniform time. As will be seen later on, the Andamans consist of the Great Andaman group and the Little Andaman, attached to each of which are a great number of smaller islands and islets. There is also the inhabited North Sentinel at some distance to the west of the general group. The Great Andaman consists of five main islands running from north to south thus:—North Andaman, Middle Andaman, Baratang, South Andaman, Rutland Island. All these are dove-tailed into each other by very narrow straits, not so wide as the ordinary rivers of a continent. The Little Andaman is situated at a considerable distance to the south. All round the Great Andaman are islands of every size; to the east is Ritchie's Archipelago and to the west are the Labyrinth Islands. Every single island of the whole group is covered with a hilly jungle, the denseness of which must be seen to be appreciated, and passable only to its indigenous inhabitants. It is therefore impossible without much preparation and expense to traverse the interior of the islands, but happily it is quite easy to move about the deeply indented coasts, containing more harbours and snug anchorages than the whole Indian Peninsula. The length of the Great Andaman group is 156 miles: its average width is 9 to 10 miles and with the outlying islands some 25 miles. Two distant islands, Narcondam and Barren Island, to the east are also included in the Andaman group, but they are both uninhabited. It was, therefore, necessary to go over this area by coasting voyages, to stop at likely spots for encampments and to hunt about for the nomadic inhabitants of the neighbourhood: a work requiring much local knowledge, personal judgment and patience.

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Intelligent Assistance from Aborigines impossible.—From the nature of the case it will be understood that very little reliance could be placed on the people themselves for assistance in the enumeration. Their inveterate, indeed necessary, habits of wandering, their childlike incapacity for responsibility of

any kind and their equally childlike way of doing whatever is pleasant for the moment in place of performing a duty, would effectually prevent this. So the best had to be made of skilled European but, of course, essentially alien agency.

Hostile Tribes estimated only.—Although the whole of the Tribes on the Great Andaman (with the exception of the Jarawas of the interior of the South Andaman and part of its west coast and of the interior of Baratang) are on the most friendly terms with us and with each other, it was quite impossible to go into the Jarawa country at all. So was it impossible also to visit, for Census purposes, the North Sentinel and the greater part of Rutland Island, likewise inhabited by the Jarawas, as these people are as inimical to other Andamanese as they are to Europeans or Asiatics generally—their hostility being exhibited equally to every stranger. Again, the Onge Tribe, closely related to the Jarawas, inhabiting the Little Andaman and the Cinque Islands, have only of late become friendly in part and to an unknown extent only, and it was not thought advisable to do anything that might disturb a desirable feeling of friendliness and confidence in us that is yearly increasing in strength, and thus it was decided to leave them alone also. These two Tribes, now the largest of the Andamanese, had to be left to estimates, such as a very long acquaintance with the people generally on the part of the local officers warranted.

Control of the Operations.—In the circumstances to be faced I took the control of the Andamanese Census into my own hands and selected three officers to carry out the work. Mr. E. H. Man, C.I.E., Deputy Superintendent of the Penal Settlement, now retired, Captain (now Major) A. R. S. Anderson, I.M.S., Senior Medical Officer of the Penal Settlement, and Mr. H. H. D'Oyly, one of the District Officers of the Settlement. Mr. Man's numerous and unique writings on the Andamans, resulting from his very long acquaintance with the Andamanese, and his many years' personal charge of them, pointed to him as the official most likely to succeed in arriving at a definite idea of the numbers of the aboriginal population. I also generally superintended myself as much of the actual work of enumeration as my many duties connected with the islands permitted.

Census Tours.—It was decided that two separate tours should be undertaken round the Great Andaman. The first, in the R. I. M. S. *Elphinstone* accompanied by the large sea-going steam launch *Bess*, commenced at Port Blair on 25th January 1901 and lasted till 2nd February. The party proceeded up the east coast northwards, through the Archipelago, and down the west coast as far as Kwangtung Harbour (since renamed Port Anson by the Marine Survey). I was present during this tour myself and then had to proceed on duty to Calcutta in the *Elphinstone*. The business of the *Bess* was to accompany the *Elphinstone* everywhere and to go into passages and anchorages which were barred to the larger steamer. Kwangtung Harbour or Port Anson separates the middle and south Andaman Islands, and the *Bess* returned to Port Blair by the east coast through Homfray's Strait, the northernmost of the two dividing straits, picking up what additional information was possible on the way.

The second tour in the *Bess*, accompanied by the sea-going steam launch *Belle* of equal size, commenced at Port Blair on the 15th February 1901 and lasted till 18th February. The party proceeded northwards as before up the east coast to the middle strait, the southernmost of the two dividing straits, and thence to Kwangtung Harbour. It then proceeded down the west coast, through the Labyrinth Islands, round Rutland Island, to the Cinque Islands and thence to Bumila Creek in the Little Andaman, the occasion being taken to show as much civility as possible to a party of Onges. Thence the party proceeded home to Port Blair up the east coast. In this way was secured as comprehensive a circuit of the Andaman Islands as was possible in a short time and at a reasonable expense. In Appendix A will be found the detailed orders as to their tours, as they may be of use at the next Census; the operations at which, I apprehend, must be practically extensions of those undertaken this time. Attached to the orders are some notes on the navigation of the often very dangerous coasts of the Andamans and a sketch of the work performed daily.

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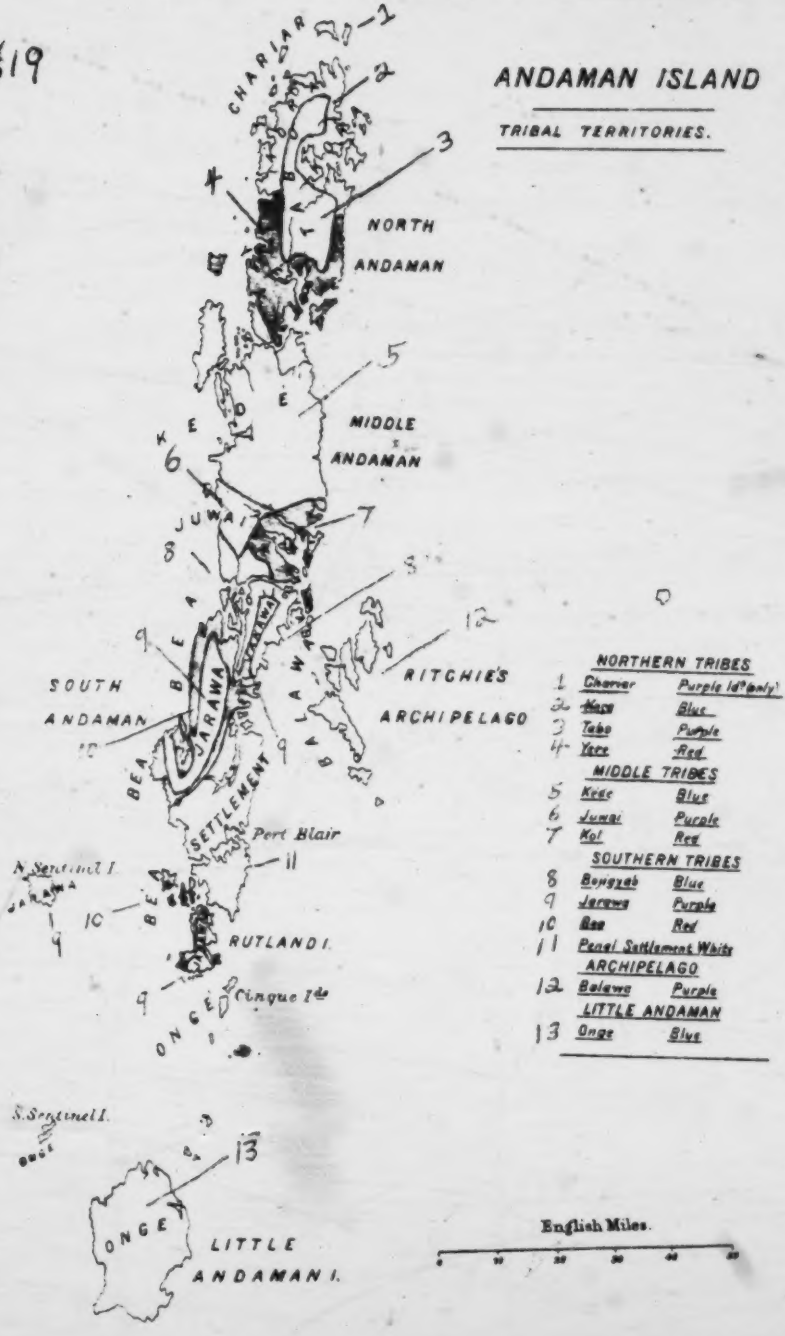

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[numbers added to replace colors. -- Analyst]

000 **Method of Enumeration.**—The actual method of enumeration was to select carefully from the Homes and attach to the Census officers the most intelligent of the Andamanese, who had lived there for years and were therefore conversant with Europeans and their ways and had acquired, by direct education or long contact with civilization, habits of restraint and obedience to orders. These men were employed all along the route in tracing the whereabouts of their people and in collecting information about themselves and their families. The information thus collected was carefully sifted, an operation requiring patience and much local knowledge, and entered in tabulated forms specially supplied. These forms showed the places at which information was procured, and the number of men, women, boys and girls, tribe by tribe, found by enquiry to be there. In my opinion this was all that could be reasonably attempted in the circumstances, and I limited the enquiry to this extent on the ground that it was better to attempt to do a little reasonably well than to attempt a Census on a scale that the conditions did not fairly permit.

Officers' Diaries.—Each officer was required to keep a diary and to record therein everything of interest that came under his observation, with the view of taking advantage of the tours to collect all the miscellaneous information that could be acquired in the time available. Maps were also supplied on which officers were required to enter every camp and inhabited place they heard of and especially every Andamanese place-name they ascertained. This last was of value, because to the Andamanese any but their own names for places are unintelligible. The chief results of the enquiries are recorded in the officers' reports attached in Appendix B.

161 **Method of estimating Onges and Jarawas.**—As to the two Tribes,
●619 Onges and Jarawas, of whom no attempt was made at a direct enumeration, it is necessary to explain the method of arriving at the assumed figures for them. The people best known to us are those of the southern islands of the Great Andaman group, the population of which is now very small from causes that will be hereafter examined. The figures for these tribes (Kede, Juwai, Kol, Bojigyab, Balawa, Bea) were taken as a basis upon which to build up figures for the Onges and Jarawas respectively as being something definite to go upon.

The Onges have not been brought under the influence of the causes that have led to the depopulation of the areas occupied by the Southern Andaman Tribes and are known to be much more numerous. Taking this fact into consideration and also the area of their occupation, it has been assumed that their numbers reach to three times the present totals for the above named Tribes. In dividing up the figures thus arrived at into sexes, there is no particular difficulty as regards adults, though that gives males 11 per cent. in excess of females, but there is much difficulty as regards children. In the present abnormal condition of the Southern Andaman Tribes the children are very few indeed, shown in the Census figures as only 24 per cent. of the adults, and among them, too, the males are shown as being nearly twice as numerous as the females. These are conditions impossible under the normal circumstances of a population maintained without extraneous immigration, and though for the purposes of calculation on a given basis, I allowed the figures to be returned officially for the Onges as under—

Adults.		Children.		Total.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
303	273	63	33	672

I do not believe the details to correctly represent facts, which among the Onges, presumably still existing under conditions normal to themselves, are more approximately arrived at, I think, on the following lines. Savage populations very quickly reach the limit of increase, that limit depending on their method of gaining a livelihood in the area they occupy. In other words, as long as savages adhere to their habits of life, the population remains stationary after a short period of occupation of a new territory. As regards the Andamans, until lately, as with the Nicobars, the population has, I think, for the above reasons been stationary through all historical times and long before that at very small figures. For reasons given below I should now place the totals for the Onges somewhat higher than has been above arrived at, and I would divide them up nearly

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equally into adults and children and again nearly equally into sexes with a slight preponderance in favour both of children and females. Say, as under—

ÖNGES.

Adults.		Children.		Total.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
153	173	178	168	672

The Jarawas, more than probably old Onge emigrants from the Little to the Great Andaman and become separated from the main Tribe, occupy portions of Rutland Island, the interior of part of the South Andaman and of Baratang and all the North Sentinel. The figures for them have been assumed on three distinct bases. Those in the South Andaman and Baratang and those in North Sentinel have each been taken to be as numerous as the enumerated population of the other South Andaman tribes, *i.e.*, as equal in numbers to the Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab and Kol Tribes, and those in Rutland Island, on the same grounds as the Onges, to be three times as numerous as the South Andaman Tribes above named. These assumptions give the following figures :—

JARAWAS.

In South Andaman and Baratang.	In North Sentinel.	In Rutland Island.	Total.
117	117	351	585

As regards the figures thus arrived at, circumstances which have occurred since the Census strongly support their general correctness for the South Andaman and Baratang. Arguing on the same lines as in the case of the Onges, I believe the conditions in the North Sentinel would support about 117 people and not more, and that the figures for Rutland Island are somewhat too highly placed. For reasons given below, it is probable that the Jarawas have been placed about 100 too high and the Onges about 100 too low : the general total for all the Tribes being most likely about right. In reference however to the details of the Jarawas as returned at the Census, *viz.* :—

JARAWAS.

Adults.		Children.		Total.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
280	210	55	40	585

I feel sure from what has since transpired that the children do somewhat outnumber the adults and the females the males, and I would on the Census returns divide up the Tribe as follows :—

JARAWAS.

Adults.		Children.		Total.
Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
126	146	162	151	585

Again, when dividing the above figures up into their three elements, recent expeditions support the figures then reached as regards the South Andaman at any rate, thus : —

JARAWAS.

	Adults.		Children.		Total.
	Males.	Females.	Males.	Females.	
South Andaman and Baratang . .	25	29	32	31	117
North Sentinel .	25	29	32	31	117
Rutland Island . .	76	88	98	89	351
Total .	126	146	162	151	585

This table fully bears out the fact, now locally recognised as probably true on other grounds, that the number of Jarawa fighting men, who have done so much damage in the jungles on the outskirts of the Penal Settlement for so many years past, are very few, probably not more than 30, and that the entire strength of the Tribe in the South Andaman is not more than about 120.

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

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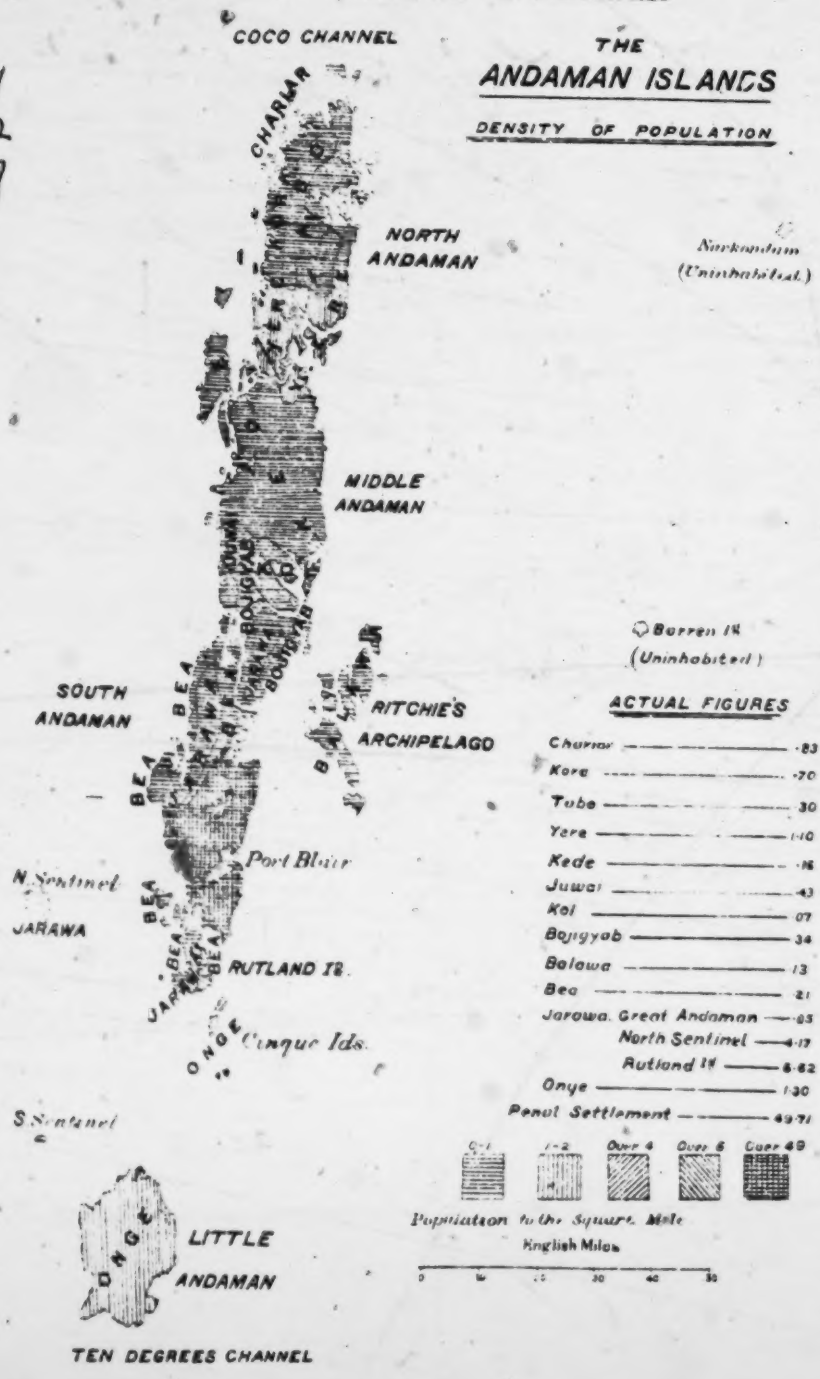

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3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

FIGURES FOR THE ABORIGINES CENSUS, 1901.

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Name of Tribe.	Adults.		Children.		Total.	Occupied area in square miles.	Density per square mile.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	
Châriâr . . .	16	15	6	2	39	47	·83
Kôrâ . . .	81	82	14	19	96	137	·70
Tâbô . . .	15	16	7	10	48	158	·30
Yêre . . .	98	80	26	14	218	198	1·10
Kede . . .	24	30	3	2	59	371	·16
Jûwai . . .	21	19	7	1	48	110	·43
Kôl . . .	6	2	3	...	11	161	·07
Bojigyâb . . .	31	14	2	3	50	148	·34
Balawa . . .	5	10	3	1	19	141	·13
Bêa . . .	14	16	3	4	37	117	·21*
Jarawa . . .	280	210	55	40	585	220	2·66
Ônge . . .	303	273	68	33	672	373	1·30
TOTAL .	844	717	192	129	1,882	2,181*	·86

* Excluding occupied area of the Settlement 327 square miles.

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In the above table the Jarawas should be divided between the Great Andaman, North Sentinel and Rutland Island. Thus divided, the special table for them is as under :—

JARAWAS.

	Occupied area in square miles.	Population.	Density per square mile.
In Great Andaman	189	117	0·85
In North Sentinel	28	117	4·17
In Rutland Island	53	351	6·62

The density figure thus arrived at is, I think, about right for the Great Andaman and I am not prepared to say that it is far wrong for the North Sentinel, but it is probably a good deal too high for Rutland Island, *i.e.*, it would appear from this argument that the whole population of the Jarawas have been placed at too high a figure.

It will be noted that the above figures give a density of population among the aborigines of less than one per square mile, *not* an unlikely fact. Commenting generally on these returns I should say that the figures for the Kede, Juwai, Kol, Bojigyab, Balawa and Bea tribes are right; so much is known about them that statements of the people as to themselves are not difficult to check. But I think it likely that the Chariar children are understated. I am not prepared to be positive as to this, however, as this Tribe, too, is well known and understood. The Yere children are probably much understated, though from what is known of this Tribe it is likely that the adults are greatly in excess of the children.

I was present when in 1900 the Kora were discovered, or to speak more accurately differentiated. They had been previously well known, themselves and their encampments, but had been considered to belong to the Chariar. The discovery as to the true facts—that they were a separate Tribe with a territory and language of their own—so late as 1900 is an example of the difficulty in procuring accurate information from such primitive savages as the Andamanese. It mattered nothing to them that Kora men and women had been to the Home at Port Blair and had been classed as Chariar. All they thought of the matter was that the sahibs held them to be Chariar, but that they and all the Andamanese knew better! In this case I think it likely that a similar error has been made as regards the children as in the case of the Yere Tribe.

In regard to the Tabo of the interior of the North Andaman, whose existence was unsuspected by us until the Census, the figures given must be taken with some caution, despite the native explanation of the cause of the destruction of

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

the Tribe, that they killed each other off in consequence of the introduction of contagious disease amongst them by the Chariar or Kora Tribes. It is somewhat difficult to believe that even a savage Tribe would actually kill off the sick to such an extent as to reduce themselves to half a dozen families or hunting camps. Even then the children would not be affected by the process and should in such case be much more numerous than the adults, but they are recorded as being in a minority of nearly 55 %. It is probable that both the figures for the adults and the children are in this case understated.

Criticisms on the figures for Ŏnges and Jarawas have already been made.

Taken all round, however, the totals for the whole of the Andamans are not likely on the above grounds to be very far wrong and to my mind an estimate of 2,000 is about correct for the existing population of this primeval and most interesting race. At the next Census it will possibly be practicable to arrive at more accurate figures in the light of the present experience by carefully considering how the defects noticed on this occasion can be remedied.

Former Population.—It has been well known for years past that the Andamanese population was even a generation ago far more numerous than it is now and proceeding on the general principles followed in the remarks above made, it seems to me that a fairly accurate estimate of the old normal population can be arrived at. The principles governing the estimate would be—

(1) the population has always been stationary,
(2) the population has been limited by habits as to food production and by the area of productive occupation,
(3) the relative size of the Tribes as gauged by their present strength combined with exposure to devastating contagious or infectious diseases,
(4) the capacity of each Tribe to hold its own with neighbouring Tribes.

On these grounds I estimate the combined Ŏnge-Jarawa Tribe as having been always of its present estimated strength and the other Tribes as under, keeping to the further principle that the adults and children have always been about equal and that the sexes also have been about equal: preponderance in favour of women over men and of male over female children.

ANDAMAN ISLANDS.

ESTIMATES OF THE OLD NORMAL POPULATION.

Name of Tribe.	Adults.		Children.		Total.	Occupied area in square miles.	Density per square mile.
	Male.	Female.	Male.	Female.			
Chăriăr .	20	25	30	25	100	47	2·13
Kŏrā . .	105	120	140	135	500	137	3·65
Tăbŏ . . .	40	50	60	50	200	158	1·27
Yĕre . . .	150	165	200	185	700	198	3·50
Kede . .	105	120	140	135	500	371	1·35
Jûwai .	60	75	90	75	300	110	2·73
Kŏl . .	20	25	30	25	100	161	0·62
Bojigyăb . .	60	75	90	75	300	148	2·03
Balawa . .	60	75	90	75	300	141	2·12
Bĕa . . .	105	120	140	135	500	444 *	1·13
Jarawa . .	130	140	170	160	600	220 †	2·73
Ŏnge . . .	150	165	200	185	700	373	1·88
	1,005	1,155	1,380	1,260	4,800	2,508	1·91

Males—2,385 Females—2,415 = Total 4,800.
Adults—2,160 Children—2,640 = Total 4,800.

* Including 327 square miles now occupied by the Penal Settlement.

† The Jarawa density being divided up as per foot-note to paragraph thus:—

(*) Great Andaman.
(†) South Sentinel.
(‡) Rutland.

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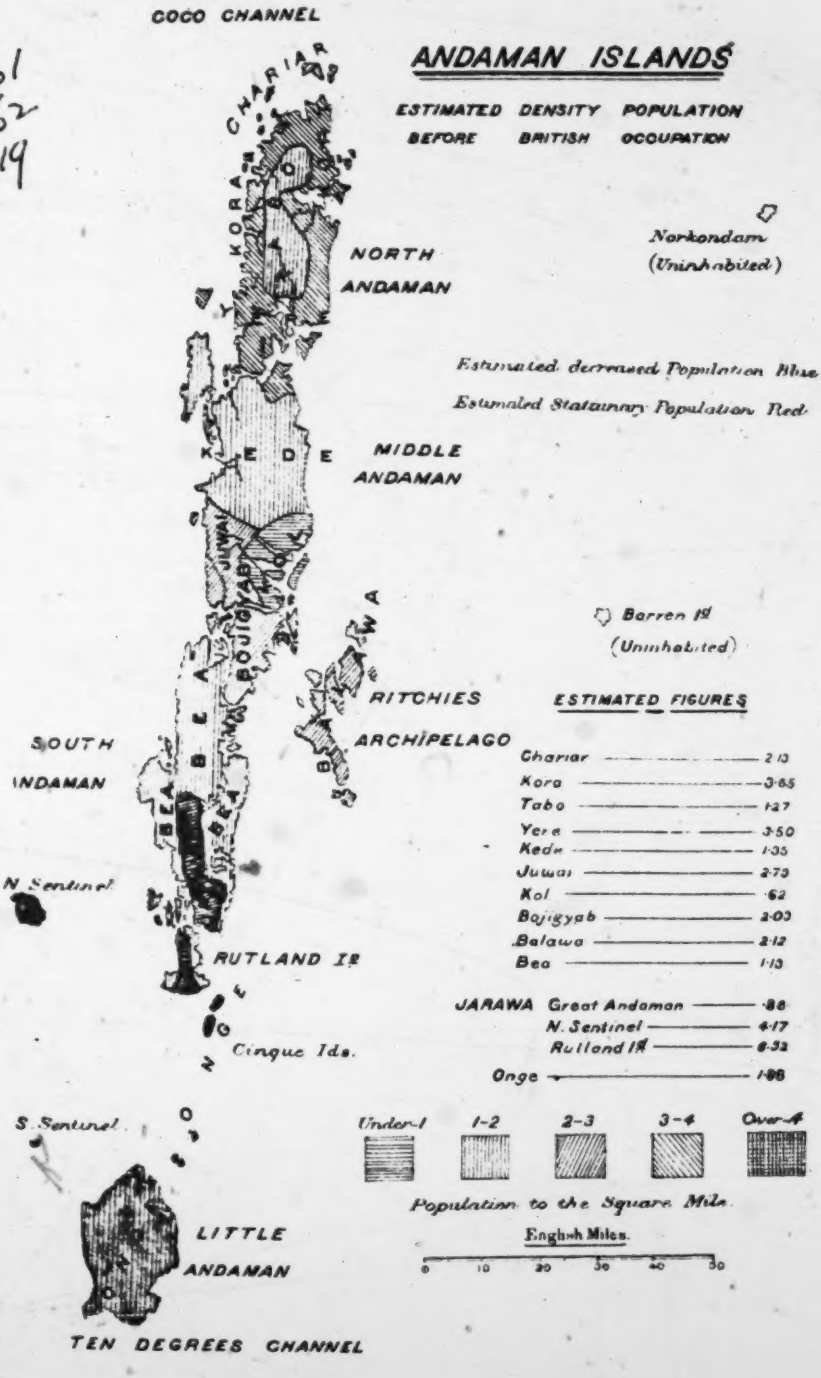

[facing p. 8]

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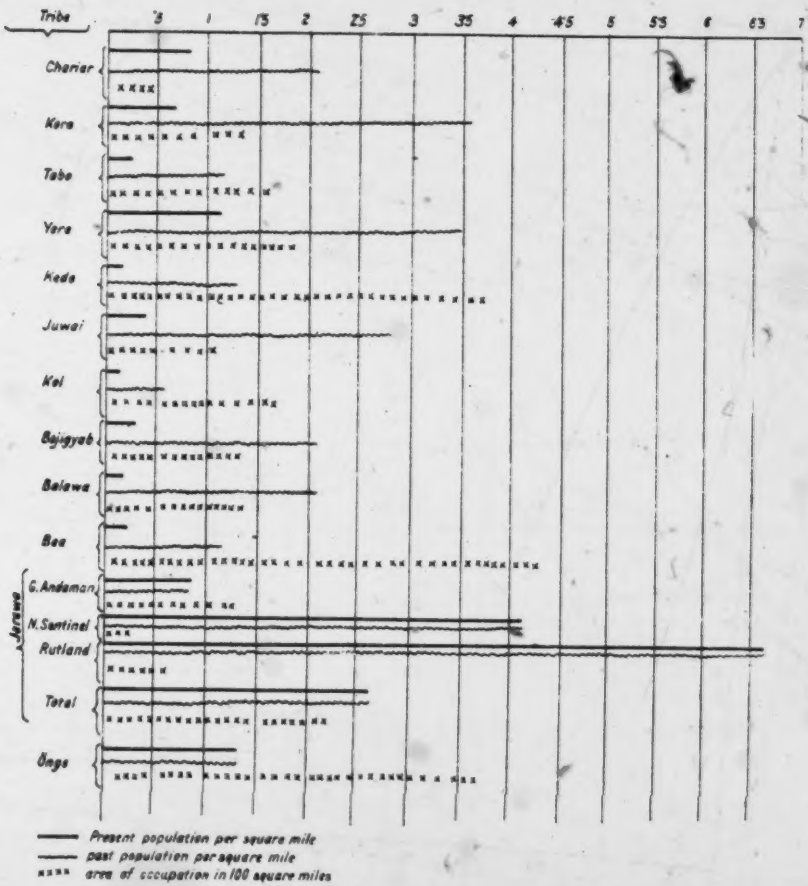
I feel pretty sure that the indigenous population of the Andaman Islands was at no time higher than 5,000 and that it was for many centuries stationary. The density figures also work out to about two to the square mile and that, too, I think a reasonable figure to adopt for the old indigenous population before contact with Europeans.

Diagram of Past and Present Density.—Proceeding to put the conjectures arrived at above to the further test of a diagram illustrating the present and past assumed density of the Andamanese Tribes compared with the area actually occupied by each Tribe, the following facts are arrived at.

DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING PRESENT AND PAST ASSUMED DENSITY OF THE POPULATION OF THE ANDAMANESE TRIBES WITH AREA OCCUPIED BY EACH.



161 From this diagram it becomes pretty evident that the Jarawa population
162 for Rutland Island has been assumed at too high a figure, both for the past and
present time. At the same time I think that it is equally probable that the
619 population of the Ongès has been underestimated. Taking all the calculations
and known facts into consideration, my own opinion is that the assumptions for
the Andaman population as a whole, both for the past and the present are
probably near the truth, but that we should decrease the Jarawa estimate for
Rutland Island (and to that extent the whole Jarawa population) by 100, and
increase the Onge estimate by 100.

Method of arriving at Former Density.—Portman, *History of our relations with the Andamanese*, Volume I, page 16, gives the following reasons for holding the Andamanese population to have been formerly stationary:—

> "When we consider that some Andamanese have no children, very few have more than three, the majority of the children die in infancy, and the grown-up Andamanese revenges the slightest injury to his person or property or even a fancied insult by a murder and also that the Tribes were continually at feud with each other, I think we may say the above estimated population (his estimate is 8,000) to be the average for many centuries past."

This is an overstatement, as in the first place it is necessary in a stationary population for each couple to produce on an average two children, who grow up and produce again in their turn, and in the next place, though an Andamanese will murder on, to us, extremely slight provocation, he is not a murderous variety of mankind and in tribal "wars" the bloodshed at each collision is very small indeed. In the next place, as Portman himself observes, the average number of children to a married woman was three, while instances of seven and eight children of one mother have been recorded. The statement is however an interesting one, as an observation on these primitive savages and their ways and as indicating the causes for the population being kept stationary.

161 **The Kitchen-Middens.**—Portman also points out (*op. cit.*, p. 17) that an
172 estimate of the old population can be arrived at from locating and enumerating the existing kitchen-middens of the Andamanese, on the assumptions that each midden represents the head-quarters of a Sept of 30 people and that apparently each Sept, owing to the habits of the people, would require four to five such head-quarters. A population of 5,000 would therefore require, say, 600 middens, *i.e.*, there should be a midden to every four square miles of territory.

The value of the kitchen-midden argument comes out thus:—(1) The size, 50 feet diameter usually, does not permit more than 30 people to live on it; (2) change of head-quarters is frequently necessary owing to (*a*) monsoons, (*b*) exhaustion of food in the neighbourhood, (*c*) nomadic instincts, (*d*) stench from discarded food thrown around. As a matter of practice the Andamanese do not return for three months after they have left a midden, nor for about a year after a death in one, and occasionally they abandon a midden for many years and cannot occupy one for more than a few weeks at a time from the stench about it. These considerations fix four as the smallest number of middens per 30 people.

The middens also beyond all doubt prove that the Andamanese are now as they were an exceedingly long time ago. There are but few "newer" middens, and the older ones show great age: newness and age being gauged by height. The antiquity of the old middens is proved by the fossil shells at the base. Now, except that certain shell-fish have been fashionable at one period and certain others at another, the kitchen-middens show that the Andamanese finds his food to-day as he did in the days when the now fossilised shells contained food for him. At the base of the middens are found the same refuse and the same pottery as we find shown on the surface to-day.

Here then we have a people unaltered in habits from primeval time and whose numbers, if these premises be correct, we should be able to estimate from existing data, as they must have been stationary through all time.

The questions on this argument really are therefore:—(1) how many middens are there? (2) where are they? To these questions it is worth while obtaining answers at the next Census or even as opportunity occurs, as the answers will either upset the theory or afford an approximate estimate of the old Andamanese population and of the strength of each tribe.

APPENDIX G.

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Tribal Distribution and Place Names, Andaman Islands.

1	2	3	4	5	6
No. on map.	Name of island, locality or encampment.	Andamanese name.	Tribal Territory.	Where situated.	Remarks.
	East Island	Tâu-kât	Chârîâr	The following islands off the north and north-west coast of North Andaman, viz.:—East Island, Landfall Island, West Island, Whitecliff Island, Thornhill Island, Reef Island, Paget Island, Point Island and Sugar-loaf Island.	The Coco Islands are known to this tribe by the name Dik-i-raichend.
	Landfall Island	Têbi-chîrah	"		
	Clough Passage	Lâiu-chîrah	"		
	West Island	Tâu-rê-mîku	"		
	Thornhill Island	Tar-bôle	"		
	Whitecliff Island	Karung-mâo	"		
	Reef Island	Bâ-pong	"		
	Paget Island	Tanmo-tât	"		
1	Paget Island (encampment on)	Kâra-bôrenga	"		
	Point Island	Mâra-bâlo	"		
	Sugar-loaf Island	Châ-ôlo	"		
	Temple Sound	Tarâ to le-chîrah	...		
	Cape Price	Pâro-jôe	Kôrâ	From bay opposite Craggy Island (East Coast of North Andaman) to Cape Price and thence along the North and West Coast to the North side of Casuarina Bay, together with all the Islands off the Coast except Craggy Island and those constituting the territory of the Chârîâr tribe.	
	Peacock Island	Kôi-cho	"		
	Cadell Bay	Kôto-nar	"		
	Excelsior Island	Tâu-rê-mîku	"		
	Port Cornwallis	Tôlobe-tông	"		
1	Do. (Ross Island at mouth of)	Po-chumbo (also Bo-pung)	"		
	Chatham Island (Port Cornwallis)	Têbi-chîro	"		
1	Trilby Island	Cho-â-pông	"		
1	Encampment on N. E. of N. Andaman near Reef Island	Ti-kô-dung	"		
1	Island encampment between Port Cornwallis and Temple Sound				
	Craggy Island	Bôl-pôli	"	The interior is occupied by the Têbô tribe.	
		Rôth	...		
	Casuarina Bay	Kârato-tât-chîro	Yêra	*E. Coast.* From above opposite Craggy Island in North Andaman Stream situated between Cooke Point and Kinearley Point in Middle Andaman, together with the islands of the Coast including Craggy Island.	
	Shark (? Shark) Island	Chîro-mâo	"		
1	Casuarina Bay (encampment on N. side of)	Tûrup-tet-chôto	"		
	South extremity of Lamia Bay	Rengo-to-tia	"		
	Point between Yulik and Lamia Bay	Ko-re	"		
	Do. North of Tara-lait	Yulik	"		
	Elleen Bay	Pârô	"	*W. Coast.* From North side of Casuarina Bay in North Andaman to Mara-mika-bolia in the same island, together with the islands of the Coast.	
1	Cadell Point, North end	Tâ-barango	"		
1	Do. (Territory within a radius of few miles of)	Mâo-pong	"		
	Do. Point (Bay W. of)	Chaka-mit-kôto	"		
1	Camp Bay	Lau-tîche	"		
1	Wreck Point	Chôlop-rê	"	[This tribe has the Kôrâ tribal territory on its north side and the Keda on the south with the Têbô in the interior.]	
	Dot Island	Anâto	"		
	Kwangtung Island	Karine-tâo	"		
	Pembroke Bay	Tâu-kât-chîro	"		
1	Encampment at S. W. of Pembroke Bay	Ina-ta-rê-jôlo	"		
1	Latouche Island	Ar-kâl	"		
	N. Reef Island	Têbi-chîro	"		
1	Saddle Peak	Pârato-mîku	"		
1	Do. (Adjacent hill on N. side of)	Jîre-mîku	"		
	Stewart Island	Miriti-rê pong	"		
	Sound Island	Tânl'ar-mîku	"		
	Austin Strait	Pôrâng-chîro	"		
1	Do. (encampment at E. end of)	Tâu-chîu	"		
	Brown Point	Iltomata	"		
	Bacon Bay	Târa-chîro	"		
1	Aves Island (also Berkeley group	Tâkla	"		
1	Casuarina Bay (encampment on S. side of)	Châabalo-rê-chôto	"		

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

Tribal Distribution and Place Names, Andaman Islands—contd.

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1	2	3	4	5	6
No. on map.	Name of island, locality or encampment.	Andamanese name.	Tribal Territory.	Where situated.	Remarks.
1	Interview Island . .	Tha-tara-uñta, also Ti-tara-uñta, or in Bea dialect, Tha-l'ar-ungta	Kede .	*E. Coast.* From southern border of the Yâre territory (Middle Andaman) to Kmej l'ar-at. (Middle Andaman.)	
	Sea Serpent Island . .	Thra-bele . .	" .		
	Do. (Island adjacent to) .	Thla-bauke . .	" .		
	Boisseville Island . .	Jara-bireta . .	" .		
	Bennett Island . .	Chârai-tang . .	" .	*W. Coast.* From Marmâka-ballu (North Andaman) to stream opposite N. E. point of Flat Island (Middle Andaman) with all islands from Interview to Flat Island inclusive (as shown on map).	
	Andrews Island . .	Tîre-tark-chîta .	" .		
	South Reef Island . .	Ti-ye-tâ . .	" .		
	Encampment on South Extremity of Interview Island opposite Reef Island	Bengo-l'ar-tâ .	" .		
	Tuft Island . . .	Barata . .	" .		
	Hump Island . .	Lerwa . .	" .		
	Flat Island . . .	Tîna-chîra . .	" .		
	Island between Middle Andaman and Long Island . . .	Pîr-lab . .	Kîl .	*E. Coast.* From Kmej-l'ar-tet to Homfray Strait with intervening islands (as shown in chart).	
	Long Island . . .	Mal-l-tâng . .	" .		
1	Do. (Encampment on) .	Iga-tâng-tâ . .	" .		
1	Encampment in Yet jig .	Parîm-chang . .	" .		
	Do. Burnt-jig	Pili-uringa . .	" .		
	Guine Island . . .	Tâli-tâle . .	" .		
	Kwagtung Harbour (Encampment on E. side of)	Mît-khra . .	Bojig-yâb	N. side of Homfray Strait with Bârating and the islands bordering the East and West Coasts of that Island. [Jârawas have in recent years occupied the interior of Bârating at intervals.]	
1	Encampment on E. side of Homfray Strait .	Tâli-chârat . .	" .		
	Site of ancient kitchen-midden near N. E. point of Bârating opposite				
	North Passage Island .	Whe-o-emi . .	" .		
	Large island between Homfray Strait and Middle Strait . .	Bârating . .	" .		
	North Passage Island .	Tobo-drema . .	" .		
	Colebrooke Island .	Pîchi-l'âta-chîkan .	" .		
1	Do. (Encampment near N. W. point of)	Thra-chîlaga .	" .		
1	Do. (Encampment in S. Bay of) .	Pîr-l'ar-tâ . .	" .		
	Do. Passage (Encampment near S. end of)	Ocupa-chîlaga .	" .		
	Strait Island . . .	Gerang kaicha .	" .		
	Diligent Strait . .	Borota-jâra . .	" .		
	Homfray Strait . .	Chîra-jâra . .	" .		
	Andaman (or Middle) Strait . . .	Godam-jâra . .	" .		
1	Barren Island . . .	Talli-châpa . .	" .		
	Narcondam . . .	Chîta-l'ig-bang .	" .		
	Duncan (or Entry) Island .	Kaichawa . .	Bla .	The whole of South Andaman and Rutland Island except where occupied by Jârawas (*vide* map) also the Labyrinth Island, Spike Island and S. W. corner of Middle Andaman, as shown in map.	
1	Inlet at mouth of Lerw-jig inlet . . .	Chîn-tet-kaicha .	" .		
	Kwagtung Harbour .	Karang-tâng-tâ-chîna . .	" .		
1	Do. (Encampment near W. mouth of)	Lobark-l'ar-tâ .	" .		
	Kyd Island . .	Lerw-tang . .	" .		
	Port Campbell . .	Kara-ping . .	" .		
	Two Mount . . .	Gerang'ara-chî-tâ-jâra . . .	" .		
	Rutland Island . .	Tâta-pât (Bla) Gatin-o-Kwa-(Onge)	" .		
	North Button Island .	Chânga-l'ar-jing	Balawa .	The Archipelago and the three Button Islands.	
	Middle Button " .	Kaicha-wa . .	" .		
	South Button " .	Aga-l'ot-bawij .	" .		
	Outram Island . .	Thi-angra . .	" .		
	Henry Lawrence Island .	Chârka-drema .	" .		
	John Lawrence Island .	Parkit-drema .	" .		
	East (or Inglis) Island .	Jîla-drema . .	" .		
	Wilson Island . .	Bârotn-drema .	" .		
	Nicholson Island . .	Kaichawa-drema .	" .		

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Tribal Distribution and Place Names, Andaman Islands—concld.

1	2	3	4	5	6
No. on map.	Name of island, locality or encampment.	Andamanese name.	Tribal Territory.	Where situated.	Remarks.
	Havelock Island	Pilago-l'le-ut-go-ferma	Balawa		
	Sir W. Peel Island	Tt-ferma	"		
	Neill Island	Tab-l'ora	"		
	Sir Hugh Rose Island	Kleiberea-bar	"		
	North Sentinel	Pilding	Jarawa	North Sentinel and the interior of the northern half of South Andaman and Rutland Island, as shown in map.	
	Little Andaman	Willme-tára (Béa) Gwéle-l'lago (Ongo)	Ongo	Little Andaman and the islands between that island and Rutland, also South Sentinel.	
	Bumila Creek (north of Little Andaman)	Kaváe-aythe (Ongo)	—		
	South Brother	Gwaiele-ukáwe (Ongo)	—		
	North Brother	Té-a-lé (Ongo)	—		
	Water Island (small)	Badgi-l'ar-chin (Béa) Te-jeme-da (Ongo)	—		
	Do. (large)	Pitile-chling (Béa) Ge-a-kwéle (Ongo)	—		
	Passage Island	Aiale-chling (Béa) Chigeda (Ongo)	—		
	Cinque Island (North)	Jár-ie (Béa) Gwa-la (Ongo)	—		
	Do. (South)	Járda (Béa) Ge-a-kwe (Ongo)	—		
	South Sentinel	Yádi-l'ig lang (Béa) Inding-go-gwe (Ongo)	—		

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"Aka-Bea-da;" and in using his tribal name in the course of a sentence he would say "Aka-Bea." In this way the full and abbreviated forms of the Andamanese Tribes as named by the Aka-Bea Tribe are as under:—

The Andamanese Tribal Names according to the Aka-Bea Language.

Full.	Abbreviated.
Aka-Chariar-(da)	Chariar.
Aka-Kora-(da)	Kora.
Aka-Tabo (da)	Tabo.
Aka-Yere-(da) (also Aka-Jaro-da)	Yera.
Oko-Juwai-(da)	Juwai.
Aka-Kol-(da)	Kol.
Aka-Bojigyab-(da)	Bojigyab.
Aka-Balawa-(da)	Balawa.
Aka-Bea-(da)	Bea.
Ônge	Ônge.
Jarawa-(da)	Jarawa.

Below is given a table of the names given to themselves and each other by the five South Andaman Tribes or Bojigngiji Group, traditionally sprung from one tribe. It brings out the following facts:—in each language of the Group the prefixes and suffixes differ much and the roots remain practically the same throughout for the same sense. These facts strongly indicate one fundamental tongue for this group of languages.

Table of the names for themselves and each other used by the five South Andamen tribes or Bojigngiji group.

Sense.	Tribe.	Bea.	Balawa.	Bojigyab.	Juwai.	Kol.
Fresh-water	*Bea*	Aka-Bea-da	Akat-Bea.	O-Bea-da.	Oko-Beye-lekile.	O-Bea-cha.
Opposite-side	*Balawa*	Aka-Bala-wa-da.	Akat-Bala	O-Pole-da	Oko-Pole-lekile.	O-Pole-cha.
Speak the language	*Bojigyal*	Aka-Boji-gyab-da.	Akat-Bo-jigyab-nga.	O-Puchik-war-da.	Oko-Puchi kyar-lekile.	O-Puchik-war-cha.
Patterns cut on bows	*Juwai*	Aka-Juwai-da.	Akat-Juwai	O-Juwai-da	Oko-Juwai lekile.	O-Juwai-che.
Bitter or salt taste	*Kol*	Aka-Kol-da	Akat-Kol.	O-Kol-da.	Oko-Kol-lekile.	O-Kol-cha.

So too Yêre, Jeru or Jâro for the Aka-Yere Tribe means a (sort of) "canoe" in all the languages and Ônge means "a man" in its own language.

The Twelve Tribes.—An Andamanese individual, as the people themselves recognise, belongs to a family, which belongs to a Sept, which belongs to a Tribe, which belongs to a group of tribes or division of the race. The first two of these without being specifically named are recognised, the last two have specific names.

The Census proved the existence of twelve tribes of the Andamanese, each with its clearly defined locality or rather "run," with its own language, and to a certain extent its own separate habits. The tribes are from north to south: Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede, Juwai, Kol, Bojigyab, Balawa, Bea, on the Great Andaman. The Ônge-Jarawa occupies, with its Jarawa division, the interior of the South Andaman, the North Sentinel, and parts of Rutland Island; with its Ônge division parts of Rutland Island and the Little Andaman. In the Archipelago is the Balawa tribe. Portman in his *History* divides the Andamanese into twelve tribes, necessarily omitting the Kora and Tabo, but dividing the Jarawas into three tribes according as they inhabit South Andaman, Rutland Island, and the North Sentinel. It is to that painstaking and accurate observer, Mr. E. H. Man, that we are indebted for the true differentiation of the tribes.

In their present depopulated condition the friendly tribes have amalgamated, as so many savages have done before them elsewhere in other parts of the world in similar circumstances. Thus, though the Kora, Tabo and Yere still keep more aloof than the rest in the jungles of the North Andaman, the whole of the remainder are thoroughly mixed up at the Home and practically throughout the Great Andaman and the Archipelago. This is a matter of the generation

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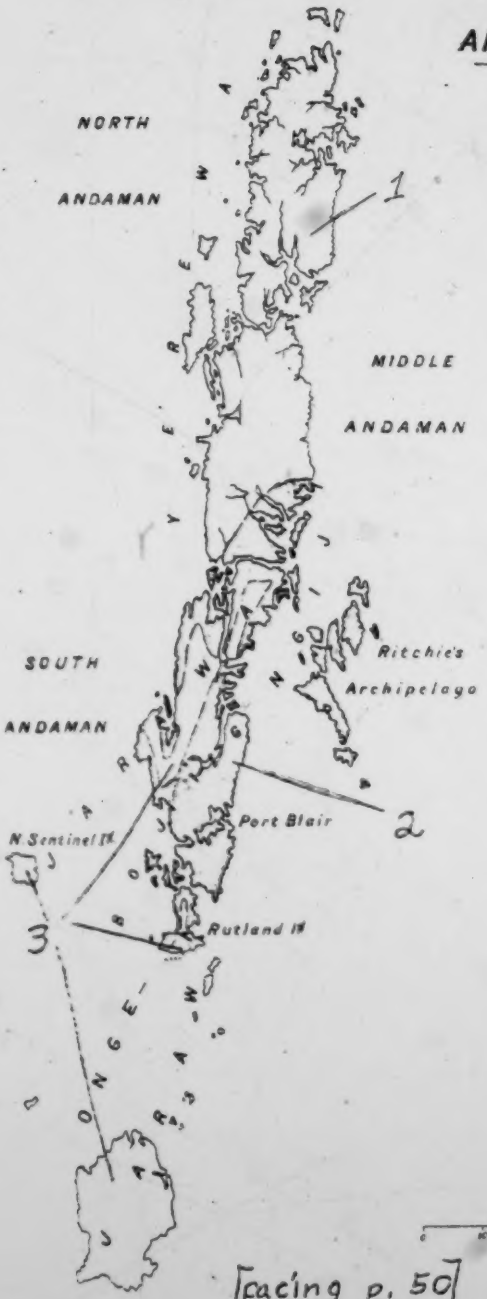

ANDAMAN ISLANDS

THE THREE DIVISION OF THE ANDAMANESE BY TERRITORIES.

Narkondam (Uninhabited)

Barren Is (Uninhabited)

1 NORTHERN TRIBES
YERAWA (Blue)
Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede,

2 SOUTHERN TRIBES
BOJIGNGIJI (Red)
Juwoi, Kol, Bojigyab, Bea, Bolawa,

3 OUTER TRIBES
ONGE-JARAWA (Purple)
Onge, Jarawa,

English Miles
0 10 20 30 40 50

[facing p. 50]

[Numbers replace colors -- Analyst]

619 now passing away and I well recollect 25 years ago, though the Bojigyab were then known to us, the "coming in" of the first Balawa from the Archipelago and of the first Chariar from the extreme north and the difficulty experienced in communicating with them.

In reading the following remarks on the tribes it must always be borne in mind that the statements therein made refer largely to a state of things practically already passed away and never likely to be revived. The reader can without difficulty use his discretion in separating what is from what has been in the course of his perusal.

619 184 **Their Division into three Groups.**—The Andamanese tribes are by themselves divided into three distinct groups, having certain salient characteristics: the forms of the huts, bows and arrows, of the canoes, of ornamentation, female clothing, hair dressing, and utensils, of tattooing, and of language common generally to the group, but differing in details and sometimes entirely from those of other groups. Judged by this standard the tribal affinities may be thus stated: Northern or Yerewa Group, Chariar, Kora, Tabo, Yere, Kede; Southern or Bojigngiji Group, Bea, Balawa, Bojigyab, Juwai, Kol; Outer Group, Ongе-Jarawa, who do not tattoo. Some of the tribes are divided into septs, fairly well defined under headmen and with a local area of their own, but not under any separate designation.

The Distinctions between the Groups.—It is worth while bringing together this remarkable series of differences dividing the Andamanese into three divisions; differences that more or less run through all matters concerning them.

[304] (1) *Tattooing.*—Bojigngiji; women are the tattooers cutting the skin slightly with small flakes of quartz or glass in patterns of zigzags or in straight vertical lines; face, ears, genitals, arm and knee pits are excepted. Men and women are tattooed alike. Yerewa; men are the tattooers, cutting the skin deeply with iron pig-arrow heads: short horizontal parallel cuts in three or five lines down the back and front of the trunk, round the anus and legs. Women are tattooed thus as life advances. Ongе-Jarawa; no tattooing.

[302] (2) *Hair.*—Bojigngiji; partial to complete shaving of head. Yerewa; long matted ringlets touching the shoulders. Ongе-Jarawas; closely cropped head to a mop. Ongе-Jarawa women are not shaved.

[291] (3) *Ornaments and female clothing.*—Bojigngiji women wear a bunch of five or six leaves in front: Yerewa women a loose tassel of narrow strips of bark: Ongе-Jarawa a bunching tassel of fibre. Bojigngiji women are most particular as to clothing: Yerewa women careless. Jarawa women are apt to be quite unclothed. Bojigngijis and Yerewas smear their faces with grey clay mixed with water, white clay in delicate patterns imitating the tattoo marks, red ochre mixed with turtle fat and almond oil in coarse undefined patterns. Ongе-Jarawas, with yellow clay mixed with water in coarse patches, red ochre mixed with the above mentioned oils on the head. Ongе-Jarawas wear no bone ornaments.

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[531] (4) *Ornamentation of utensils.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewas, slight: Ongе-Jarawas delicate and elaborate.

[323] (5) *Pots.*—Bojigngijis, pots with rounded bottom: Ongе-Jarawas and Yerewas with pointed bottom.

[412] (6) *Implements.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas, coarse and rough in manufacture: Ongе-Jarawas, often delicate and neat.

[285] (7) *Baskets.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have a 'kick' and stand well: Ongе-Jarawas have uneven bottom and stand badly.

[411] (8) *Bows and arrows.*—Bojigngiji, *karama* bow and large arrows. Yerewa, *chokio* bow and small arrows. Ongе-Jarawa, curved long bow and long arrows.

(9) *Arrows.*—Generally common in type to all tribes: long with plain straight point, long with straight point and barbs, short with broad detachable barbed head for pigs.* Ongе-Jarawas and Yerewas, multiple headed arrows for fish.

(10) *Harpoons.*—For turtle, dugongs, and large fish among Bojigngijis and Yerewas: none among the Ongе-Jarawas.

* As the pig runs off, the trailing shaft is at once caught by something in the jungle and the animal is thus brought up short.

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[50] (11) *Canoes.*—Bojigngiji and Yerewa, same pattern canoe; Ônge-Jarawa pattern different from above. Both out-rigged, Bojigngiji has in addition a large dug-out without outrigger.

[342] (12) *Huts.*—Bojigngijis and Yerewas have temporary huts. Ônge-Jarawas have large permanent communal dwellings.

[35] (13) *Dancing.*—Bojigngijis and Yerawas, sounding board and song and clapping in unison. Ônge-Jarawa, standing in a ring and alternately bending and straightening the knees: also on occasion kicking the buttocks with the flat of the foot.

[52] (14) *Beds.*—Jarawas sleep on the wood ashes of the fires. Ônges on raised bamboo platforms. Other tribes on leaves and in sand-holes.

[262 251] (15) *Food.*—The staple food of the Ônges is the mangrove fruit, boiled, and they preserve small fish dried after cooking. None of the other tribes do this.

The Long-shore and Jungle Andamanese.—The Andamanese are by themselves again further divided into the Aryoto or long-shore men, and the Eremtaga or jungle-dwellers; the habits and capacities of these two differ, owing to surroundings, irrespective of tribe. Some tribes as the Tabo, Juwai, Kol, and the South Andaman Jarawas, are entirely Eremtaga, while the Balawa, the Chariar, and the Jarawas of the North Sentinel are entirely Aryoto. The Aryoto holds himself to be better than the Eremtaga, but beyond this there seem to be no exclusive distinctions between them and an Aryoto will marry or adopt an Eremtaga.

With the minuteness in matters concerning their surroundings that is characteristic of all entirely uneducated people, the Andamanese recognise a third division of themselves by habits into Adajig or creek-dwellers, *i.e.*, those who live on the shores of the many inlets of the sea on the coasts of the Islands. The habits of the Adajig, however, are practically those of the Aryoto.

Distinctions by habits are quickly lost by the Andamanese. The Jarawas have now no canoes in the South Andaman and are quite incapable of constructing or using them, though all Ônges have them and so have the Jarawas on the North Sentinel. So also had the Jarawas that Colebrooke met a century ago. And this year (1902) it was ascertained that the young men brought up at the Duratang (Kyd Island) Home and occupied chiefly in market gardening could neither steer nor paddle a canoe, nor take up tracks in the jungles. In one generation, though there was no restriction in communication with their people, they had lost both sea and forest craft.

Former Isolation of the Tribes.—Before the arrival of the English the tribes, excepting actual neighbours, may be said to have had no general intercourse with each other, and excepting some individuals were entirely unable to converse together, though it can be conclusively shown that all the existing languages are directly descended from one parent tongue. Even Septs had but little mutual intercourse and considerable differences in details of dialect and, as has occurred in other island abodes of savages, there must have been a change of dialect or language along about every 20 miles of the coast. The tribes were in fact brought together and made definitely acquainted with each other's separate existence and peculiarities by the influence and exertions of Mr. Man between 1875 and 1880.

609 **Sympathies and Antipathies.**—The tribal feeling is expressed as follows: friendly within the tribe, courteous to other Andamanese if known, hostile to every stranger, Andamanese or other. The sympathy and antipathy exhibited are strictly natural, *i.e.*, savage, and are governed by descent. The feeling of friendliness lies in an ever-decreasing zone from the family outwards towards sept, tribe, group: hostility to all others. Even septs will fight each other and Aryoto and Eremtaga do not mix much. But there is no "caste" feeling, and tribes will, in circumstances favouring the actions (*e.g.*, living on the tribal borders), intermarry and adopt each other's children. Within the tribe there is so general a custom of adoption that children above six or seven rarely live with their own parents. It is an act of friendliness to give up or adopt a child and the custom has had the effect of making the various septs of a tribe hang together much better than would otherwise have been possible.

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726 **Fighting Capacity.**—The Andamanese are bad fighters and never attack unless certain of success. During hostilities they never take any precautions as to their own safety by sentries, works, armour, or ruses of any kind, nor in the attack beyond taking advantage of cover. The only ideas of protection yet met with are among the Jarawas, who use trunk-armour consisting of a wide belt of bark and well devised sentry stations on the paths round their permanent communal huts.

619 **The Hostile Tribe of Jarawas.**—The Jarawas and some Önges kill every stranger at sight, but the Jarawas only are in these days entirely hostile, and on the whole the Önges are friendly, the friendliness dating from the capture and subsequent judicious treatment of 24 men, women and children on the Cinque Islands in January 1885. The only positively dangerous people are thus the Jarawas, and this is to be accounted for in this way. The ancient (as proved by old separate kitchen-middens) incursion from the Little Andaman through Rutland Island of that section of the Önge tribe, which is now known as the Jarawas, into the South Andaman set up an implacable tribal hostility between them and the Beas, its other occupants, which has been extended to the foreign settlers in Port Blair, and has nowadays become an undying distrust of all strangers and an hereditary hostility towards them.

But Colebrooke, reporting in 1790, gives a vocabulary of a people, now identified with the Önge-Jarawa tribe by its speech, and as theories have been built up on this fact, it is as well to see carefully when and where Colebrooke met the natives and who they were.

175 **Colebrooke's Knowledge of them (1789).**—Colebrooke left Diamond Island (Cape Negrais) on December 20th, 1789, and reached Port Cornwallis (*now* Port Blair) on December 23rd. On the 24th he went up the harbour and saw some natives (Jarawa Tribe) on Dundas Point. On the 26th he went up the harbour with Commodore Cornwallis (brother of the Governor-General), accompanied by a native who had been wounded in a skirmish with his tribe, found to be very hostile by the people of the snow *Viper*, and was kept on board the *Ranger*, Cornwallis's ship. He is described as "very cheerful and quite reconciled to his captivity." They went up the Bumlitan Creek as far as Bumlitan and met another native (Jarawa) who ran away. They dined (lunched) on "Mount Pleasant," a hill on the harbour near Viper Island, and met another Jarawa who exchanged his bow and arrows for a knife. On the 27th the wounded native, who had been on the *Ranger* three weeks, was put ashore by the Commodore, who uniformly treated the savages with extreme consideration. On the 28th they met the Jarawa on Dundas Point whom they had seen before, with a woman and a girl and found him again friendly. On the 29th there was trouble with the Bea Tribe at Phœnix Bay and with the Jarawas at Ariel Creek.

Colebrooke then went to the Nicobars and returned to Port Blair on February 20th, 1790, starting up north on 21st February. On the 23rd March at Port Meadows he saw some of the Bea Tribe leaving Entrance Island and saw some more hostile Beas, whom the party frightened off, coming from the North. On the 26th he went to the Archipelago, and met some hostile Bolawas. On the 27th he went into Colebrooke Passage and saw some Bojigyab huts and some more of the tribe, who ran away in Elphinstone Harbour on the 29th. On the 30th they met some hostile Kols in the east entrance to Homfray's Strait and some more on the 31st off the north end of Long Island. On the 3rd and 4th April they found the Yere Tribe in Stewart Sound extremely hostile. On the 6th Blair himself met some Koras at the foot of Saddle Peak, who ran away. On the 7th Blair discovered the present Port Cornwallis and Colebrooke left for India.

It is clear from this that the only native from whom Colebrooke could have procured his *Vocabulary* was the wounded man on the *Ranger* and that man, as the *Vocabulary* shows, was a Jarawa. The tribes of all sorts—Jarawa, Bea, Bojigyab, Balawa, Kol, Yere, Kora, whom Colebrooke met, except in the case of one Jarawa and his family, exhibited either extreme fear or hostility.

175 101 **Explanation of the name Mincopie for the Andamanese.**—The first word in Colebrooke's *Vocabulary*, the first ever made of any Andaman tongue, is Mincopie for "Andaman Island or native country," whence Mincopie has

372 they show much skill in so carrying smouldering logs with them by land or sea that they are not extinguished. Their ignorance of this fundamental requirement of civilization is shown in their fire-legend that fire was originally stolen from their deity Puluga and has never been allowed to become extinct since. Excepting guns, nothing has more impressed the Andamanese with European power and resources than the use of matches, *i.e.*, of making fire whenever required with ease.

342 In the Little Andaman and among the Jarawas of the South Andaman, large permanent huts for use in the wet season are built up of solid materials to 30 feet in height and 60 in breadth to hold the fires of 7 to 8 hunting parties, say 60 to 70 people, *i.e.*, they contain 7 to 8 fires with about 8 persons to each "fire." The Jarawa hunting camp is much the same as that of any other Andamanese and his great communal hut is built on the same principle as the larger huts of the other Andamanese.

The use of the flimsy hunting shelters and camp huts of the Andamanese is rendered possible in the wet and stormy weather so common in the Islands by the denseness of the jungle, which prevents the winds from reaching them even when close to the sea-beach and causes the rain to fall vertically upon them.

619 622 **Government.**—There is no idea of Government, but to each tribe and to each sept of it there is a recognised head, who has attained that position by tacit agreement on account of some admitted superiority, mental or physical, and commands a limited respect and such obedience as the self interest of the other individual men of the tribe or sept dictates. There is a tendency to [554] hereditary right in the natural selection of chiefs, but there is no social status that is not personally acquired. The social position of a chief's family follows that of the chief himself and admits of many privileges in the shape of tribal influence and immunity from drudgery. His wife is among women what he is among men and at his death, if a mother and not young, she retains his privileges [888]. Age commands respect and the young are deferential to the elders. Offences, *i.e.*, murder, theft, adultery, mischief, assault, are punished by the aggrieved party on his own account by injury to the body and property or by murder, without more active interference on the part of others than is consistent with their own safety, and without any fear of consequences except vengeance from the friends of the other side, and even this is usually avoided by disappearance till the short memory of the people has obliterated wrath. 627

421 Property is communal, as is all the land, and ideas as to individual possessions are but rudimentary, accompanied with an incipient tabu of the property belonging to a chief. An Andamanese will often readily part with ornaments to any one who asks for them. Theft, or the taking of property without leave, is only recognised as to things of absolute necessity, as arrows, pig's flesh, fire.

437 A very rude barter exists between tribes of the same group in regard to articles not locally obtainable or manufactured. This applies especially to cooking pots, which are made of a special clay found only in certain parts of the islands. The barter is really a gift of one article in expectation of another of assumed corresponding value in return, and a row if it is not forthcoming. The territory of other tribes is carefully respected without however there being any fixed boundaries.

562 The duties of men and women are clearly defined by custom, but not so as to make that of the women comparatively hard. The women have a tacitly acknowledged inferior position, but it is not such as to be marked or to leave them without influence.

771 **Religion.**—The religion is simple animism and consists of fear of the evil spirits of the wood, the sea, disease and ancestors, and of avoidance of acts traditionally displeasing to them, and this in spite of an abundance of mythological tales told in a confused, disjointed manner that is most instructive to the student of such things. There is neither ceremonial worship nor propitiation. There is an anthropomorphic deity, Puluga, the cause of all things, whom it is not, however, necessary to propitiate, though sins, *i.e.*, acts displeasing to him, are avoided for fear of damage to the products of the jungle. Puluga dwells now in the sky, but used to live on the top of Saddle Peak, their highest mountain. The Andamanese have an idea that the "soul" will go under the earth by an aerial bridge after death, but there is no heaven nor hell nor any idea of a cor-

3: Temple G-5 (1901) 1903 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

000 showing what a fine sea boat she is. Two little Andamanese from the Ehudi village accompanied me, one of whom, Kogio Kai, had been in Port Blair before as a captive in 1886. On the 4th December I returned to the Little Andaman (arriving there on the 5th) with some fresh convicts and Andamanese. The weather on the way back was even worse than what we had coming up.

My absence, leaving a small party of convicts and Andamanese on the Island, had been a good test of the work done, and I found on my return that the Little Andamanese had been living with them in my camp in the most friendly manner.

I was kept in the creek by bad weather until the 12th December, during which time the crew of the *Ross* were employed in cutting firewood in order to save our coal, and the convicts and Andamanese went about with me inland and on the coast to the various villages.

I also commenced a coast line survey of the Island with prismatic compass and chain. The Little Andamanese or Ôngee, as they call themselves, were constantly in camp and began to pick up a little Hindustani.

On the 12th and 13th I worked along the coast, surveying down to Tochangeda, where my work was stopped by the heavy surf, so I began on the 15th to work E. and S. from the North Point of the Island. A curious incident occurred on the 17th which will illustrate the influence I have acquired over the neighbouring people. Kogio Kai told me that a man of his own tribe had stolen some knives belonging to us. I sent for the man, admonished him and forbade him to come to the camp. Tahlai, one of his own tribe, then escorted him to Tambe Ebai, and he has not since been allowed to visit us. The Ehudi people on another occasion behaved in a similar manner to the Pulalankwes who had stolen some turtle spears, refusing to allow them to land near the clearing or visit us for several days.

By the 19th of December I had surveyed as far as Titaija, meeting many people of all sizes and sexes who were very pleasant and friendly, and I then returned to Bumila Creek, beached the *Ross*, cleaned and painted her. Her Majesty's I. M. S. *Nemesis* sailed on the 21st, and on the 22nd I proceeded to Port Blair with the sick from my camp, and with nine Ôngee picked from the following tribes:—Ehudi, Pulalankwe, Tobaia, Tambe, Ebai and Titaija.

I remained in Port Blair until the 27th when I crossed with the party to the North Sentinel Island. The Ôngee gave me their name for it as Chirtalwelwe, and appeared well acquainted with it. They walked fearlessly about in the jungle, but, on catching sense of the inhabitants on the evening of the 27th, it was found that they talked an entirely different language. On the 28th I visited Port Mouat, returning to Port Blair on the 29th, and on the 2nd January I returned to the Little Andaman.

During their stay in Port Blair, the greatest care was taken that the Ôngee should not suffer in health, and they were shown every thing I thought would interest them, including the athletic sports and the military parade on the 1st January, and were also given quantities of presents, being allowed to have almost every thing they fancied, and they appeared so delighted with their visit that, on the way back, they said they would come up to Port Blair in their canoes in the fine weather.

On the 3rd January I started down the East Coast surveying. In addition to my party I was accompanied by Tomiti, Tahlai and Kogio Kai, who were of the greatest assistance. People came out to meet us at each village, and every one was quiet, friendly and pleasant. On the 4th I anchored in Dunguls Bay, having been accompanied by nearly fifty people all along the coast. On the 5th I met at Toi-balewe, Natridetenli Kâpi, one of the women who was captured on the Cinque Islands in 1885. On the 6th I met at Ingoie, on the South Coast, the three men who had visited me at Bumila Creek on the 3rd November last. I completed the survey on the 7th closing on Api Island, and then returned to Bumila Creek.

The weather now got stormy again, and I began to suffer very much in health. The survey being finished, I having visited all the villages round the Island and being on the most friendly terms with all the people, and our stores being nearly exhausted, I returned to Port Blair on the 19th January with the entire party. The work I was sent down to do has, I think, been accomplished, and we are now on as friendly terms with the Little Andamanese as we are with the inhabitants of the North Andamans.

• 619 194 From what I can learn, I am of opinion that, while the whole of the Little Andaman Island is peopled by one race calling themselves Ôngee, these people are sub-divided into tribes who adhere more or less to their own country, and who appear to quarrel and fight among themselves. What little I have learnt of their language I have embodied in my work on the languages of the Andamanese, written at your request, but the amount is small. It differs almost totally from any language with which we are acquainted, except that of the Jarawa tribes.

The people appear healthy, their principal diseases being chest complaints, coughs and colds, fever and itch. There is no syphilis amongst them, and in physique they compare favourably with the inhabitants of the Great Andaman.

Their manners and customs differ somewhat from those of our people, the principal differences I have noticed being the following:—

The large circular huts built by them; the raised charpoys on which they sleep; their habit of cooking, drying and storing in baskets a small fish similar to a sprat; the difference in the shape of their canoes at the bow and stern; the difference in their ornaments,

and the absence of bone necklaces and broad tasselled belts amongst them; the women wear a tassel of a yellow fibre in the place of the leaf worn in the Great Andaman; the difference in the shape of the bow, which is of the European pattern. The arrows used for fish frequently have four heads of different lengths fitted into one shaft. 619 184

The people are by no means expert in the use of a canoe in the rough water, and are unable to harpoon turtle. They paint their hair only with red earth, and not their entire bodies, and they do not allow their hair to grow long; the women do not keep their heads close shaved.

Their staple food appears to be the seed of the mangrove, boiled, as that article of diet is always to be seen in their huts, supplemented of course by whatever else they can get.

I may here mention that, after close and continued observation of their habits, I entirely disbelieve the legend that they were formerly in the habit of visiting the Car Nicobar Island.

It was very pleasant to see the numbers of healthy children of both sexes in the various villages; the people seem to marry later in life than do the Great Andamanese, but the same system of monogamy prevails.

The music of their songs is different and more pleasing, and it is not accompanied by clapping of hands, or striking of a sounding board. Their dance is peculiar and unlike that of the other Andamanese.

They have no religion of any kind, and I have learnt nothing of their traditions or superstitions from which they seem even freer than our people.

In conclusion I may say that the people are by no means fierce, being if anything of a milder disposition than our people, and I became very much attached to them, which attachment is, I think, returned. They are easily silenced or frightened, and are in great dread of a gun.

The Island at the north end appears to consist of mangrove swamp, and low belts of sandy soil on which the aborigines live. On the west and south-west coast the land rises into low hills of a coarse sandstone, running more or less north and south. The timber appears to be much the same as that of the South Andaman, and the rocks are chiefly lime and sandstone with a good deal of actual coral rock on the east and south coast. In one place on the point south of Dungalo Bay I noticed an outcrop of igneous rock. There appeared to be no minerals.

The products of the sea appear to be the same as at the Great Andaman, but that the Tubiporine family of coral, particularly *Tubipora musica*, occurs in profusion. Dugong and turtle abound in the sea, and I captured two of the former, one being a remarkably fine specimen, and many of the latter.

The Ônges are very fond of turtle which they are unable to get with the facility with which our Andamanese catch them, as they are ignorant of the use of the harpoon, and turtle always formed a great part of my presents to them.

In rough weather landing is almost impossible on most of the coast, and in calm weather there are heavy ground swells and tide rips. The following are the best anchorages of small vessels:—Bumila Creek; Ehoti Bay, just inside the north end of Nachuge Point; Gijuge, opposite Iagoio, about half a mile from shore; Hut Bay; Dungalo Bay and Obata. Landing is difficult in most places and I always used an Andamanese canoe.

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With regard to their (the Ôngas) behaviour to shipwrecked crews, I am of opinion that the crew of any native vessel wrecked there would still be liable to be massacred, and though a European, if wrecked on the north coast might be well treated, I should not like to guarantee his safety. Shipwrecked sailors are rarely diplomats and would be extremely likely to resent the lusting of their ships or persons in a manner which would certainly lead to their being shot. This lusting cannot be prevented, the temptation being too great for any savage, however tame, and the general education of the Ôngas will take some years. It is quite safe for any Settlement official to visit the Island and land. I would advise him first to land at Bumila Creek and take on board either Kogio Kai, Tomiu or Tahlai, or else one of the following:—Wana Loege of the Ekudi tribe or Kogio Kokele of Palalaakwe village, who would act as interpreters at any other part of the island, where he wished to land. 000

The presents which the Ôngas most appreciate are hoop iron, rod iron, files, sleeping mats, cocoanuts, plantains, beads, and specimens of the articles used by our Andamanese; also turtle, which can easily be got at the South Sentinel Island. The Ôngas are, I believe, quite willing to come to Port Blair in their canoes in the fine weather, but great care should be taken that they do not contract any disease, particularly syphilis, if they do come up. They will take to smoking kindly, but I have not encouraged this, as my aim is to keep them in their healthy primitive state, and I believe this can be done, and they can still be brought to obey our orders and remain on friendly terms with outsiders. We require very little of them, and a close intercourse with these savages means death to them.

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On the 4th March the Chief Commissioner, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts, 7th Regiment, Madras Native Infantry, Mr. Portman, on special duty at the Little Andaman Island, Mr. Metcalfe, Officer in charge of the Andamanese, and a number of Andamanese, left Port Blair in the steamer *Rose* at 6 A.M., and arriving in Bumila Creek, north end of the Little Andaman at 2 P.M. Some of the Ôngas, as the natives of the Island

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2
Arioto

in the local language, as opposed to the people of the interior, the *Eremtaga* – appear to have numbered between six and eight thousand. Over the years their place has been taken by more than thirteen thousand foreigners, most of whom were deportees, enjoying relative liberty as servants of government officials, farmers and foresters. The settlers, voluntarily or involuntarily, introduced the islanders to alcohol and tobacco, forcing them to turn to the foreigners in order to satisfy their craving. In the famous and extremely frank work of the English explorer M. V. Portman (*A History of our Relations with the Andamanese*, Calcutta, 1899) official letters are reproduced which give precise instructions in the matter to government officials. The result of these instructions was to transform the Arioto into alcohol and tobacco addicts. Syphilis was passed to the native women by the deportees, and from them to their men. When, a few years after the mass importation of prisoners, the government authorities became aware of the infection among the Arioto, not one of them had escaped. The miserable twenty-three survivors of the eight to nine thousand of a century ago show the ultimate result only too well, and their final extinction is imminent.

Before the advent of the new civilization, the Arioto had divided up into at least ten distinct communities, but without any true tribal organization. They respected a form of chief, chosen by tacit consent for his personal qualities rather than by name or by birth-right; but the chiefs acted merely as paternal advisers, to be respected in times of trouble, with no illusions of authority. No one commanded, and none obeyed: all were content to follow the whim of the moment, with no conception of social obligation.

When the foreigners arrived, there were five main groups of Arioto on North Andaman, the Cari, Chede, Cora, Jeru and Tabo. Another five groups were in South Andaman, the Balawa, Bea, Bogig-iab, Joi and Col. With the numerical decline of the Arioto, who had always been endogamous within their group, a tendency arose for the survivors to merge and inter-marry, so that the twenty-three alive today are in fact the result of the mixing of the northern and southern Arioto, and of these with Indians and Burmese. The chief of these twenty-three individuals is Loca, a name in itself an indication of this ethnic mixture. Loca means 'whiskers', and he himself has a moustache, whereas pure Negritos have no body or facial hair.

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

only a crude form of body decoration based on geometrical designs.

They are, therefore, to be included among the most backward peoples of mankind, who have remained in a very simple form of social structure. They have never progressed to any elementary organization of themselves into 'clans', or even 'tribes'. They have, in short, the psychological outlook and concepts of other primitive peoples, modified by local conditions. The evidence in favour of the Onges of today being the product of cultural development over a very long period appears to me overwhelming, though their development has already been hindered by involution and, we must presume, a series of setbacks.

The Onges have thus remained culturally isolated and this has deprived them of the opportunities offered to the rest of the world. The time came when they ceased to receive or to elaborate new concepts, and from that point regression was inevitable. There is abundant evidence that their culture dates back to Palaeolithic times, so that they now represent the last and decadent expression of a very lengthy stage of biological and cultural development, a point of arrival, and not one of departure. Everywhere in the Andamans there are signs of an ancient culture which must once have spread over much of the world. It is neither logical nor practical to explain the similarity of many concepts as a series of convergences, all of independent origin; ideas must have spread outwards with the passage of time and the gradual population of habitable areas.

No study of present-day life on the Andamans can be complete without an attempt to build up a valid picture of the islands as they were centuries ago, and this we can do with some accuracy by a study of the kitchen-middens. These abound on Great Andaman, but few have been excavated, and then only briefly reported. Those of Little Andaman have not, for obvious reasons, previously been investigated, but they are of considerable importance for the light they cast on their own development and history, and on that of similar mounds outside the Andamans. It is only on Little Andaman that they are still being built up, continually increasing in size, forming a unique, direct and continuous link with life on the island thousands of years ago.

Provided they have not been damaged – for example by rain or

11: Cipriani E-3 (1951-1955) 1966 AZ2 Andamans AZ2

comparatively rapid variation and it is now difficult to establish their linguistic connections outside the Andamans, but Africa can certainly be discounted, in view of the general weight of evidence against any Negro ancestry.

Like the Onges the Jarawas are divided into endogamous groups, each with its own name, corresponding to their communal huts, and each with their own territory for the purposes of hunting, fishing and gathering food. There is little reliable information about their daily life or even their numbers; it is, however, certain and I cannot overstress this, that the Jarawas are Negrito in type,[1] with the same admixture as in the Onges.

Whoever or whatever they may be, the replacement of primitive expeditions by genuine attempts at pacification would, quite apart from the obvious humanitarian considerations involved, afford a unique opportunity for detailed study of a dying population in regeneration, and the refusal of an otherwise irrevocable progress towards final extinction.

But the problem of the Jarawas is merely one aspect of the problem of the Andamanese in general, and their connection with the Negritos both past and present. The Semang and the Aetà, as we have seen, resemble each other, and together resemble the Andamanese, in a number of essential points. Recent contacts with other influences in Malacca and the Philippines respectively have produced variations – such as the Semang use of traps and snares with which they take small animals, and also birds, which the Andamanese never touch. They have also taken to making refuges in the trees as a defence against wild animals, non-existent in the Andamans. Traps, poison, agriculture, fish-hooks, animal nets, are all late acquisitions, not found among the original Negritos. It was thought by Brown that spears, used by the Semang, were also unknown among the peoples of the Andamans, but I have myself seen them used by the Onges, though admittedly I saw only a few, and very rough specimens; I did, however, manage to bring some back with me.

In the case of the canoes, the Semang and the Aetà seem to have

[1] On 11 January 1951 a Jarawa was killed at Lekeralarta on Middle Andaman and the head is now in the Indian Museum in Calcutta. This head shows signs of beard, unlike those of two Jarawas held in the Nicobars since the September 1938 incident. Short, muscularly well-developed, strong and very black, Jarawas are normally beardless, as is usual in Negritos.